THE Providences of GOD

Obſerved through

SEVERAL AGES

Towards this

NATION,

In introducing the

True Religion;

And then,

In the Defence of it, preſerving the PEOPLE in their RIGHTS and LIBERTIES, whilſt other Kingdoms are raviſhed of theirs, as our *Counſellors* deſigned for Us.

By the Late *Slingsby Bethel* Eſq;

The Second Edition.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

C. C. 8

Advertiſement.

THIS Book was writ and publiſhed about 3 or 4 Years ſince by Slingsby Bethel *Eſq; Sheriff of* London *about the Year* 1680. *whoſe unparallel'd Honeſty and Courage in thoſe wicked Times ought to erect him an Immortal* Statue *in the Hearts of all True* Engliſh-men. *He thought not fit for ſome Reaſons to put his Name to it; but ſuppoſing thoſe may be removed by his Death, and that this Book may be of further Uſe to all who have any Love for their Countrey, 'tis thought fit to expoſe it again to the World.*

THE General Hiſtory of *England*, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, from the earlieſt Accounts of Time, to the Reign of his preſent Majeſty King *William*. Taken from the moſt Antient Records, Manuſcripts, and Hiſtorians. Containing the Lives of the Kings, and Memorials of the moſt Eminent Perſons both in Church and State. With the Foundations of the Noted Monaſteries, and both the Univerſities. Vol. I. By *James Tyrrel*, Eſq; *Fol.*

A New Hiſtory of Eccleſiaſtical Writers: Containing an Account of the Authors of the ſeveral Books of the Old and New Teſtament; and the Lives and Writings of the Primitive Fathers; An Abridgment and Catalogue of all their Works, *&c.* To which is added, A Compendious Hiſtory of the Councils, *&c.* Written in French by *Lewis Ellies du Pin*, Doctor of the *Sorbon*. In ſeven Volumes. *Fol.*

A Detection of the Court and State of *England* during the Four laſt Reigns, and the *Interregnum*. Conſiſting of Private Memoirs, *&c.* with Obſervations and Reflections: And an *Appendix*, diſcovering the preſent State of the Nation. Wherein are many *Secrets* never before made publick; as alſo, a more impartial Account of the *Civil Wars* in *England*, than has yet been given. By *Rog. Coke*, Eſq; The third Edition much corrected, with an Alphabetical Table.

An Eſſay concerning the Power of the Magiſtrate and the Rights of Mankind in Matters of Religion. With ſome Reaſons in particular for the Diſſenters not being obliged to take the *Sacramental Teſt* but in their own Churches, and for a *General Naturalization*. Together with a *Poſtſcript* in Anſwer to the *Letter to a Convocation Man*.

The Rye-houſe Traveſtie: Or, the Hiſtory of the Late Jacobite Plot. In a Letter to the Bp of *Rocheſter*; by *Tho. Percival*, Author of *Ludlow*'s Letters.

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TO THE

READER.

THere being found amongſt us a certain ſottiſh Generation, who, out of love to Slavery, and hatred to our Legal and Natural Rights, do diſown any Miſcarriage or Error in the Miniſters and Inſtruments of the two laſt Reigns; I thought it neceſſary to make ſome Obſervations upon the Tranſactions of thoſe Times, to the end to raiſe our Hearts to a thankful Admiration of God's Grace

and Goodneſs, in preſerving us in our Privileges by his over-ruling Hand of Providence, through many Ages, whilſt other Kingdoms have been raviſhed of theirs; and to diſcourage the like Attempts againſt us for the future, by Men of ambitious, ſelfiſh and depraved Principles. And becauſe I know this will meet with many Enemies, who, as concerned, will be ready to cavil at it, I have for the farther Proof of the Subject Matter relating to the two laſt Reigns, and the Iniquity of them, annexed hereunto two Affidavits, *which, together with the uncontradicted Information of that eminently honeſt Captain* Henry Wilkinſon, *a true Son (tho no Bigot) of the Church of* England, *will, I ſuppoſe,*

ſuppoſe, be ſufficient to make good the Truth of what is here ſuggeſted: In oppoſition to thoſe that make it their work to magnify the evil Inſtruments of the late Times, recommending them undeſervedly to Places of greateſt Truſt. And if any deſire farther Satisfaction concerning the four laſt Kings, I refer them for James *the Firſt, to that Book called,* The Court of King *James, writ by Sir* Anthony Welden, *who being a Courtier, writ his Knowledg and Experience. For* Charles *the Firſt, to* Ruſhworth's *Authentick Collections. For* Charles *the Second, and* James *the Second, to that Book called,* The Diſplay of Tyranny, *Firſt and Second Part: where you will find*

find named the Judges, Juries, Witneſſes and Counſel, made uſe of in ſeveral Trials upon Life and Death, as well as for pretended Miſdemeanors; ſome of which Verdicts have been ſince reverſed by Act of Parliament, declaring ſeveral Men murdered; and ſome of the Verdicts for Miſdemeanours, reverſed by Judgment in the Houſe of Lords, to the Credit of the Sufferers, but little to the Credit of thoſe Judges, Juries, Witneſſes and Counſel, who found them guilty. The Witneſſes meet with their juſt Reward, being rendred deſpicable in the Eyes of the People; whilſt the Judges, Juries and Counſel are moſt partially not ſo much as reflected upon, tho moſt of all villanouſly faulty, in a mercenary unjuſt wreſting

wreſting both Law and Evidence in favour of the King, beyond the Intention of the Law, or what the Words of the Witneſſes could naturally or genuinely bear; as what Mr. Shepherd *ſaid in Alderman* Corniſh's *Caſe, &c. to the Ruine of ſome, and Murder of others; finding Mr.* Bethell *guilty of a Riot, when he was not upon the place, and without Evidence that he was ſo much as there; he having had four Witneſſes to prove he was elſe-where at that time, who could not be called, to his great Damage: and tho this pretended Riot is ſince reverſed by the Houſe of Lords, as unrighteous and unjuſt, he and his fellow-Sufferers, are by the Act of Grace, left unrelievable,*

except

except by Proceſs againſt the King, for their Fines paid into the Exchequer, which might prove tedious and chargeable.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS *of ſeveral Extraordinary* PROVIDENCES *towards this Nation.*

AS it is the Duty of Man to contemplate the various Diſpenſations and Workings of God in the World; ſo no Country under Heaven affords more Matter than *England*, for raiſing our Souls to the higheſt Admiration of his Greatneſs and Goodneſs, and that as well in reference to Civils as Spirituals.

To look no further back than *William* the Firſt, who ſome call *Conqueror*; the Mercy of the Lord towards this Nation hath ever ſince been to a Miracle in preſerving their Rights and Privileges through ſo many Ages and Reigns of Covetous and Ambitious Princes, who never wanted evil Counſellors to join with them for Arbitrary Power and Government; they knowing that he that makes no Conſcience of cozening the Com-

munity for whoſe Good he is ordained, muſt ſuffer them in their degree to cozen him as he doth the other: and tho we find, they have for the moſt part firſt or laſt, fail'd in their Attempts, it hath not frightned others from the like Deſigns; the Examples of *Gaveſtone*, Lords *Spencers*, *&c.* in former times; nor of *Strafford* and *Laud* ſince, being any caution to thoſe whoſe Pride and Covetouſneſs over-ballanced ſuch Precedents. And it's no wonder, that all times ſhould furniſh bad Kings with evil Counſellors, there being more Men in the World of Parts without Honeſty, than there are of both Parts and Honeſty; and more of Honeſty without Parts than of the other two: whoſe Weakneſs the firſt makes uſe of to ſupport themſelves in their Tyrannical Practices. And, tho through Mercy, we do at preſent injoy our Liberties, the Preſervation of them, from the firſt *William* down to this time, hath been almoſt by perpetual Conteſts with our Kings and their pernicious Inſtruments. And it's to be wiſhed that the like may be prevented in the future, by aſſerting our Rights beyond Diſpute, whilſt we have a King ſo juſt as will not oppoſe it: and alſo, that all the Arbitrary, Illegal, Irregular and Bloody Methods uſed in the late Times, for impriſoning (by demanding exceſſive Bail, to

delude

delude the *Habeas Corpus* Act, ſo much hated by our Arbitrary Men) Fining, Whipping, and taking away the Lives of Men, may be effectually damned, to prevent the bringing them into Precedent hereafter, there being yet nothing done to that end.

In Times of Popery, the Clergy (who are always governed by their ſeparate Intereſt) owning the Pope for their Head, were tenacious of their Engliſh Privileges, equal to any, and from thence were the greateſt Supporters of them, and the greateſt Checks to our aſpiring Princes, for which reaſon they were then ſo much honoured and adored: but ſince the Reformation in Religion hath changed their Intereſt, in making them dependent upon the Crown, from whence iſſue all their Preferments, they have been the greateſt Flatterers of our Princes, and Enemies to our Engliſh Liberties; it being hard for a Flatterer to be an honeſt Man. And this may be made an additional Reaſon to Dr. *Eachard*'s ſeveral Cauſes of the preſent Contempt of the Clergy: for as it's natural to Mankind to reverence thoſe from whom they receive Good; ſo on the contrary, to have an Averſion to thoſe from whom they derive their Miſeries. And tho Statiſts would monopolize, beyond contradiction, all Knowledg in Government to themſelves as a Defence

for their evil Practices; the wiſer ſort of Men, of both Parts and Honeſty, ſee eaſily through their Tricks, and the reſt feel where the Shoe pincheth. And in truth, Politicians without Honeſty, are but like Mountebanks on a Stage, to cheat the Ignorant: For, as King *James* the Firſt uſed to ſay, *Honeſty is the beſt Policy*; and whether he had the Vertue to follow his own Maxim, he was able to judg of what was good and vertuous. And ſurely all Governments thrive beſt, that make Honeſty the Rule; not only as a Bleſſing of God may be expected from ſuch Proceedings, but alſo from Natural and Human Reaſon; the worſt of Men liking Honeſty beſt in others, tho they do not practiſe it themſelves. And therefore all Vertuous Princes will be careful to make choice of Counſellors of upright and juſt Principles, as ſuch may be well known by their Creatures: for if their Favourites are Men of immoral, depraved and debauched Lives, as to Tyranny and Oppreſſion, they muſt be the ſame in their own Nature; and who they are that are ſuch, the late Times have ſo ſufficiently diſcovered, as is beyond concealing.

And now, as this may ſerve to raiſe our Hearts in a thankful Remembrance to Almighty God for Temporal Mercies; ſo I ſhall obſerve that which is of greater Concern,

cern, our Eternal Being, which requires our moſt ſerious Meditations; as, That the Lord by his over-ruling Hand of Providence ſhould make a profeſſed Enemy to the Truth, *Henry* the 8*th*, his firſt Inſtrument of bringing us out of Darkneſs into Light, cannot be ſufficiently admired; who being followed by that Miracle of Piety, eſpecially for his Age, *Edward* the 6*th*, he made ſo grounded a Reformation in his ſhort time, that his mercileſs and perſecuting Succeſſor of the Popiſh Communion, could not get totally over in her Reign, but was forced to leave in a great meaſure his Pattern of Church-Government for Queen *Elizabeth* to proceed upon; which had he lived, would in all probability have been more perfect, he ſeeming to have been inſpired with an holy Spirit for Reformation, in purging the Church from all the fulſom Dregs and Rubbiſh of Popiſh Superſtition and Idolatry: And the cutting ſo early the Thread of his Life, before he had accompliſhed his Deſign, gives us great cauſe to reckon it a Judgment of God upon this Nation for their Sins. And we have the more reaſon to believe his pious Intentions, becauſe Dr. *Heylin* (a late Champion for the Church of *England* eſtabliſhed by Law, and Biſhop *Laud*'s great Creature) tells us in his Preface to his Church-

Hiſtory, (at leaſt to this Effect) *That it was no Infelicity to the Church that he was taken away, otherwiſe he had ſurely reduced Epiſcopacy to Primitive Inſtitution*, &c. And ſince the Doctor could not be ignorant that the Papiſts were violently ſuſpected to be the Authors of his Death, we may by this obſerve the Doctor and his Patrons Inclinations.

Queen *Elizabeth*'s Preſervation in the Tower in the time of her Impriſonment, is a remarkable Providence not to be forgot; that when her bloody Siſter had deſigned her Death, ſhe ſhould be preſerved by King *Philip* (Queen *Mary*'s Husband) who had not at that time (beſides his Queen) his Fellow in *Chriſtendom* for Cruelty and Perſecution of the Reformed; and was moved to the ſame, not by Bowels of Compaſſion, but upon a Politick Account, That ſhould Queen *Mary* die Childleſs, as it ſeems he feared, Queen *Elizabeth* being out of the way, the Queen of *Scots*, a Papiſt, would come to the Crown; who being inſeparably joyned in League with *France*, they both might be too hard for *Spain*: and that his Lenity towards Queen *Elizabeth* could be upon no other ſcore, appears by putting his Eldeſt Son to Death for no other cauſe, than being too mercifully inclined towards the Proteſtants in the *Netherlands*. And thus

thus the Lord wrought for us when we could not help our ſelves, in bringing her to the Crown, and preſerving her through her whole Reign againſt the perpetual Plots and Endeavours of the Papiſts for the deſtroying her. Having ever ſince remarkably blaſted that great Monarchy, in bringing it down from the top of Dominion, to be leſs than their Neighbours, whom formerly they deſpiſed; as if the Lord did not think ſo great a Power exerciſed againſt his People, fit to be entruſted in the Hands of unmerciful Men.

Queen *Elizabeth* having in her Father's and Siſter's Times (tho averſe to the groſs Idolatry of *Rome*) imbibed too great a liking of the gaudy Splendor of the Church, inſomuch that the pious Reformers of that Age could not bring her to that height of Reformation they deſired, as appears by Dr. *Burnet*'s (now Biſhop of *Salisbury*) Letter from *Zurick* in *Switzerland*: had it not pleaſed God in his Providence to furniſh her with wiſe and moderate Counſellors, as Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord *Burley*, Sir *Francis Walſingham*, Earl of *Eſſex*, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, &c. ſhe might have proved more ſevere againſt the then Diſſeners than ſhe was: but having had a true Love to the People of *England*, and particularly to the City of *London*,

(which ſcarce any of her four Succeſſors have ſince had) ſhe reigned moderately; ſome of thoſe Acts of Parliament made in her time, and ſince wreſted againſt Diſſenters, being intended only againſt Papiſts. Piety was by her and her Counſellors encouraged; all Debauchery, Blaſphemy, Atheiſm and Profaneneſs diſcountenanced; Honours, Places of Profit or Penſions never beſtowed otherwiſe than for Merit; by which all ſorts being provoked to the ſtudy of Vertue and generous Actions, Gentlemen were in that time in higher Eſteem, and of greater Intereſt, than many Noblemen at this day: the benefit of which we found in a Bleſſing upon all our Undertakings, the Nation not ſuffering the leaſt Diſhonour in any of their Actions during her Reign, tho ingaged in War upon the account of Religion with all her Neighbours; with *Spain* in defence of the Proteſtants in the *Netherlands*; with *Scotland* in the behalf of the Reformation there; and with *France* in the aſſiſtance of the Reformed in that Kingdom; in *Ireland* againſt the Rebels there; and at home in ſuppreſſing the perpetual Plots of the Papiſts. And having prevailed in all places with a ſmall, but well-managed Revenue; extravagant Salaries, Fraud and Cozenage, unneceſſary Penſions, multiplying Offices and Officers

to

to gratify a Party for Popery and Arbitrary Government, not being then known; her and her Peoples Intereſt being reckoned one, and not ſeparated, as our Courtiers have ſince done, ſhe became glorious through the World, ſo far as the Name of *England* was heard of; inſomuch, that in Honour of her, the Emperor of *Muſcovia* did voluntarily beſtow extraordinary Immunities upon the Engliſh Nation.

When this Queen died, the Renown of *England* ſeems to have died with her; for ſince her time, we have gone backward in Honour and Reputation, having received many Eclipſes: None of our four ſucceeding Kings, nor even *Cromwel* in his almoſt five Years Uſurpation, having any one glorious Action to boaſt of, ſave the Concern the laſt had for the Proteſtants Liberty in *Piedmont*; which, I confeſs, ought not to be forgot, tho his War with *Spain*, and joining with *France*, is his Reproach. In thereby laying the Foundation of that King's preſent Greatneſs, which is like to coſt us dear, eſpecially before we recover the Glory and Renown of good Queen *Elizabeth*'s Days, which we then acquired by the Vertue and Ability of her, her Counſellors and Favourites, through the whole Adminiſtration; and particularly in not expoſing Imployments to Sale, nor preferring Relations

tions to Places they were not qualified for; nor yet ſuffering her Souldiers to be ſhirked upon by unreaſonable Defalcations, in receiving their Pay, buying their Clothes and Horſe-Furniture, under the vain Notion of making the better Figure, *&c.* to the abating the Activity and Bravery of her Military Men, as hath in the two laſt Reigns, and never before been practiſed: For in our late Civil Wars, the Souldiers were ſo far from being ſhirked upon, that their Paymaſters durſt not abate them the leaſt odd Money, tho preſſed thereto by the Receivers: and a greater Indication of Unfaithfulneſs, and Ingratitude in Miniſters and Favourites to a Prince, cannot be given, than by abuſing in ſuch manner his Favour, and the Power he giveth them.

James the Firſt was a Scholar, qualified for an Univerſity to make Harangues in the Schools, but had nothing beſides to brag of, ſave Diſſimulation, which he called *King-Craft*, but was really his Blemiſh; in that by it he ſo far loſt all Reputation, except that of a Pedant, that no Princes or States could confide in him: and for all his boaſted Cunning, was ever worſted in Foreign Treaties; as in that with *Spain* about the *Infanta*; with the Emperor about the *Palatinate*; with *Holland* about the Cautionary Towns, not in delivering them up, for that

that was but Juſtice, but in the Sum due to us for them; and as a Proof of his great Wiſdom, he ſpent that in fruitleſs Embaſſies, which good Queen *Elizabeth* did in glorious Atchievements. And therefore our flattering Clergy (for their own ends) ſtiling him a *Solomon*, was groundleſs, none ever having deſerved it leſs; his Diverſions wherein he ſpent his time, not being the Care of his People, according to the Duty of his Calling, but in Hunting, Masking and Drinking, and to pleaſe the Eccleſiaſticks, by making their Sabbath-days-Work eaſy; in promoting the Profanation of that Day, in inviting the People by a Declaration to Sports and Games, when they ſhould have been either at Church, or at home, better employed; as if the way to fit a People for Arbitrary Government, was firſt to make them Godleſs, which Maxim hath been ſince improved.

This King whilſt in *Scotland* (that Kingdom not affording Places of Profit, nor an over-plus of Revenue, ſufficient to corrupt a Party for Arbitrary Government) did not attempt any ſuch thing there; whereas had he had a Revenue to have wantoned with, (againſt which *Moſes* adviſeth) they could not have preſerved their Rights and Liberties, it being impoſſible for a People to prevent Tyranny, whoſe Prince hath a ſuper-

ſuperabounding Revenue: And this King was no ſooner removed to *England*, where he was furniſhed with both, than forgetting the Methods of Church, as well as State, he had been bred to in *Scotland*, aſpired ſo much to unlimited Dominion, as if he had never heard of any other Principles; as appears by his hectoring Speeches in Parliament, tho yet, as occaſion ſerved, mixed with ſome Popular Expreſſions; as that when Kings do not govern according to Law, they ceaſe to be Kings, and become Tyrants, and conſequently abſolving thereby their Subjects, or to that effect, as is more fully to be ſeen in his Speech to the Lords and Commons in 1609. upon a Biſhop's offending them by a Sermon before him, magnifying (as their Tribe uſe to do) his Prerogative beyond all bounds; which occaſion may be reckoned to give the more Force and Energy to the King's aſſertaining this Truth, tho perhaps it might proceed from his cajoling way, knowing the gentle-natur'd *Engliſh* might be eaſily cozened with good Words; and that ſhould his Conceſſions be at any time made uſe of againſt him, his depraved Party in Parliament, who have no other Senſe than their Maſter's Will, would over-rule all, as they ever do the greateſt Antiquity, when contrary to Court-Deſigns; as alſo maintain the leaſt

leaſt illegal aſſumed Practices as Precedents, tho noval, when for the advantage of the Court, to the Prejudice of the People: as appears by the two laſt Kings, paſſing by in their Choice of Sheriffs for the Counties, thoſe brought legally to them, out of which they are to make their Election, and chuſing at large ſuch as they apprehended to be moſt for their private Intereſt. And yet the King by Law, which no pretended Practice to the contrary can make void, is expreſly by a judged Caſe, confined in his Election to the three legally preſented him; the trangreſſing of which Rule, this King did not attempt: for notwithſtanding his ſo much brag of *King-Craft*, his Deſign for Arbitrary Government (a thing hard to be concealed) ſeems to have been diſcovered by thoſe Noble Lords, who (as is ſaid) finding it known that at a Meeting they had drank to the Confuſion of the all-devouring Prerogative, thought it Prudence each of them to raiſe a Regiment for the Service of the United *Netherlands*, that under that pretence they might plauſibly retire into thoſe Countries, from the Envy of the Court: but it was in that Age the Happineſs of the People, that the King's Bravery lay only in his Tongue, and that the Nation was not then over-run with the Leproſy of Luxury and Licentiouſneſs; nor the Eccleſiaſticks and Judges corrupted

corrupted as they have been ſince; ſo tha
tho no Means or Tricks were neglected fo
compaſſing his Ends, through Providenc
he failed of his Deſign. His toſſing of Par
liaments by Prorogations and Adjournment
for bringing them to his Bow, not doing hi
Work, he projected, for raiſing of Mone
(to ſupply the want of Parliaments) th
Dignity of Hereditary Baronets; and t
induce Gentlemen of the beſt Quality t
give Credit to this pernicious Invention b
accepting of it, he gave them Precedenc
of all meerly Knights of the *Bath*, an
ſingly Knights Batchelors, not being th
younger Sons of Barons, of whom they hav
no place; but to make the Title more va
luable and deſirable, he ingaged that th
Number ſhould not exceed two hundred
And all this under the Romantick Pretenc
that every Perſon accepting hereof, ſhoul
be obliged to maintain a certain number o
Souldiers in *Ireland*, to defend the Prote
ſtants againſt the Papiſts in that Kingdom
and as a Badg of their Duty, adds a blood
Hand to their Coat of Arms; yet with th
Condition, that each paying 1000 *l.* into th
Exchequer, they ſhould be excuſed fro
that Service: for notwithſtanding the pre
tence in the Patent, it was meerly a Trick
to get Money without Parliaments: As wa
the conferring Titles upon Women; *Scot*
an

and *Iriſh* Titles upon Perſons not having any Lands in either Country, a thing not practiſed before. And as to the Title of Baronet, it may be obſerved, that tho it is pretended againſt Papiſts, thoſe of that Religion were as forward to buy this Honour as others; and thus he defrauded the People of the benefit of Parliaments, by expoſing (for raiſing of Money) this and all other Honours to ſale, which hath been ever reckoned a Mark of a depraved and corrupt Government. And thus begun our governing by Tricks (hardly known before) which continued till our preſent happy Change; but this according to the Maxim of our Law, *That the King can do no Wrong*, muſt refer to his evil Council, and not to himſelf.

This new Honour of Baronets was ſtruck at by ſeveral ſucceeding Parliaments, as illegal in the Inſtitution, as well as the End; the firſt, in being hereditary without annexing it to ſome Place; and the latter, in depriving the Nation of their Security in the uſe of Parliaments. But in a little time the Intereſt increaſed ſo much, in the increaſe of their Number, that nothing could be done to diſannul this Project: for notwithſtanding the cajoling Promiſe of not exceeding two hundred, no Limitation was obſerved, the Number (by falling the Price

to

to leſs than half, tho obliged to have a Receipt out of the Exchequer for the whole 1000 *l.*) being increaſed to near, if not (above) a thouſand.

And in theſe and ſuch like ways this celebrated *Solomon* ſpent a Reign of two and twenty Years, without bringing any Honour to the Nation; but on the contrary, through evil Counſel, a Diminution of it to a great degree; and when he had finiſhed his Courſe, left his Precedents to his Son *Charles* the Firſt.

This King, as no Man can deny, followed his Father's Steps, and in an higher degree affected abſolute Monarchy, wherein being obſtinate, it was fatal to him: he was free from that open Diſſoluteneſs his two Succeſſors have been ſince guilty of; tho equal to them in Obſtinacy and Diſſimulation, as his ſeveral Appeals to Heaven for the Integrity of his Actions do evince. For the Nation not being then arrived at that impudent Profaneneſs it is now come to, the People were then modeſt in their Vices, compared with theſe Times; yet Lewdneſs then, as it hath ever ſince, increaſed more and more, helped forward by Biſhop *Laud*'s Advice, in diſcouraging Piety, and giving Encouragement to Debauchery, by aſperſing ſober Men with Nicknames, as *Puritans* and *Preciſians*, &c. promoting *Arminianiſm*, the

the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*; and then, ſeconding this *King's Father*, in publiſhing another Book of Sports, giving Liberty on the Lord's-Day for all manner of Games, as Foot-balls, Cudgels, Dancing, *&c.* injoining the reading it in the Churches, to the great Grief of all ſerious Chriſtians fearing God.

His Carriage in the State was as offenſive as in the Church; he called Parliaments meerly to ſerve his own turn without any Eye to the Publick; and when they did but enquire into any Grievances, as the Death of his Father, who was violently ſuſpected to be poiſoned, *&c.* they were readily diſſolved. And in *Anno* 1628, he forbid by Proclamation the ſpeaking of Parliaments (a high Arbitrary Act.) He paſſed indeed the Petition of Right, aſſerting the Peoples Liberties; but had no ſooner given his Conſent than he broke through all the Bounds of it, illegally forcing the Payment of Tunnage and Poundage, Ship-Money, Coat and Conduct-Money, Knighthood-Money; and impriſoned Members for ſpeaking in Parliaments. To increaſe his Revenue, monopolized (contrary to Law) moſt Commodities; made an extrajudicial uſe of the Star-Chamber, to the fining, and otherwiſe puniſhing Gentlemen without cauſe; removing

moving them, for their greater Vexation, out of their own Counties, to Priſons in other Countries; and, to prevent Complaints, had no Parliaments in twelve Years; nor then, till compelled by the Troubles in *Scotland* to call one: For tho that Book, falſly intituled this King's, (for which his Admirers *Saint* him) begins with his ſpontaneous calling of the Parliament in 1640; that Chapter made one of his own Party, upon the reading of it, throw the Book away, ſaying, *If it begun with ſo known a Lie, nothing leſs could be expected in it*, and therefore would not read it. This Expreſſion ought to be pardoned, the King not being concerned in it, both his Sons, the two laſt Kings, having confeſſed to the late Earl of *Angleſea*, that their Father did not write the Book, but that it was writ by Dr. *Gauden*, afterwards Biſhop of *Exeter*, as hath been ſince authentickly proved in Print by Dr. *Walker*, one of unqueſtionable Veracity, whom Dr. *Gauden* made privy to the writing of it; as alſo by the diſcovery of Dr. *Gauden*'s own Papers accidentally brought to light.

He wreſted the Statute for Foreſts, to the Ruin of many, by the inlarging them: His Court was filled with Prieſts and Jeſuits: He careſſed the Heads of that horrid and odious Rebellion in *Ireland*, clapped up a Peace

Peace with them in order to bring thoſe Cut-throats into *England*. His Son *Charles* the Second confeſſed that the Marqueſs of *Antrim* (reckoned one of the maſſacring Rebels) acted by his Father's Commiſſion, and upon that account, he had his Eſtate reſtored him by the Court of Claims. He ſolicited the Duke of *Lorain* to bring his more than ordinary rude and wicked Army into *England*; and all this, beſides his deſerting *Rochel* after he had ſtirred them up to ſtand upon their Defence, promiſing them Relief, to the ruin of the whole Proteſtant Cauſe, as appears by the Hiſtory of the Siege of *Rochel*, which is worth the peruſing, being tranſlated into Engliſh.

Theſe are but hints of ſome few of the Practices in his time, which if not ſufficient to ſuſpend (according to the Romiſh Rule) the *Sainting* him till after an hundred Years, that his Vertues may be forgot; thoſe that read *Ruſhworth*'s Collections, will find enough there for deferring the Solemnization thereof: His Reign was ſo Arbitrary, that I remember it was commonly ſaid, that the ſtudying Proclamations (which made a Volume as big as a Church-Bible) was more neceſſary for Lawyers than their Books: His endeavouring to impoſe a more ſuperſtitious and nearer approaching Liturgy to Popery upon the Church of *Scotland*

than ours in *England*, was the beginning of his Troubles; wherein he was as much out in his Politicks as in any of his other Actions; for it could not be well expected, that they, who had ſwept their Church as clean from all the Rubbiſh of *Rome*, as *Geneva* it ſelf, and more zealous and refined in their Doctrine than they, would be eaſily impoſed upon in Matters of Religion: But it was the Pride of Biſhop *Laud*, who was ambitious of being the Founder of a new Popery, and of ſeeing it accompliſhed in his days, by driving too furiouſly, that prevented the deſigned Miſchief; and ſo we find it confeſſed by our Queen-Mother, in Monſieur *Siries* Mercury, the *French* King's Hiſtory-Writer for the Affair of *Italy*, who tells us among many other things concerning *England*, That when the Parliament in 1640, met, the Pope had three Agents in *England* negotiating the reconciling our King to *Rome*, (*viz.*) the Count of *Roſet*, Seignior *Con*, and Seignior *Pauſanie*; reciting *Roſet*'s Remonſtrance delivered the King to prove it his Intereſt to turn Papiſt: whereupon the King asking, If the Pope would diſpenſe with his Subjects taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy? he was told, that if he would be a Catholick, it muſt be without Conditions: But the Parliament getting a Scent hereof,

hereof, hunted theſe Agents ſo cloſe, that *Roſet* was forced to be confeſſed, whilſt diſguiſing himſelf, and then fled for *Ireland*, a little before the Maſſacre, where it's ſaid he died. And it may be obſerved, that at this time this King's Chief Counſellors and Favourites, next *Strafford* and *Laud*, were ſuch as, whilſt living. were ſuſpected, and at Death declared themſelves Papiſts, *(viz.) Thomas* Lord *Arundel*, Lord *Cottington*, and Sir *Francis Windebanck* Secretary of State, and *Laud*'s Kinſman; and not long before Treaſurer *Weſton* died in the ſame Communion.

And the ſame Author, where he writes of the Affairs of *England*, tells us further, that Biſhop *L.* and Biſhop *N.* by which muſt be meant the two Archbiſhops, *Laud* and *Neal*, proffered the Pope to leave *England*, and go to *Rome*, and for the Credit of that See declare themſelves Papiſts, provided the Pope would allow them at *Rome* the Value of their Engliſh Biſhopricks, which they computed each at 16000 Crowns *per Annum:* but received for Anſwer from the Pope's Nephew, Chief Miniſter of State, who at that time was (as I remember) Cardinal *Franciſco Barbarino*, reputed a great Sateſman, that if their Converſion were real, they might at *Rome* live comfortably of ſo many hundred Crowns *per Annum.*

num. For the Cardinal was jealous, that the bottom of *Laud*'s Deſign was a Patriarchal Popedom for *England*, which would have been a bad Example for *France* and other Popiſh Countries. If any are curious to know further concerning the Affairs of *England* at that time, I refer them to the aforeſaid *Mercury*, which is writ in *Italian.*

In the ſucceeding eighteen Years interval, this Nation received not the leaſt Diſhonour, ſave what happened at *Hiſpaniola*, in War with *Spain*, during *Cromwell*'s Uſurpation: For the greateſt part of the reſt of that time our Neighbours trembled when we frowned; tho ſince that, the *Cataſtrophe* hath been ſuch, that we have trembled at their Frowns, occaſioned by the Miſgovernment of *Charles* the Second, who yet came to the Adminiſtration of the Crown moſt advantagiouſly, not an Enemy daring to ſhew his Teeth, (excepting that mad Freak of the nine and twenty *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*) he ſeeming to be the univerſal Delight of the People. At *Breda* he promiſed Liberty of Conſcience to thoſe diſſenting Miniſters, that were with others, ſent by Parliament to invite him to *England*; and at his Arrival made ſhew of being true to his Word, by appointing at the *Savoy*, in order thereunto, a Conference betwixt the

the two Parties, the Conformiſts and Diſſenters; but the latter being under-hand diſcountenanced by him, (who was a great Maſter of King *James* the Firſt's Art in King-Craft) it came to nothing more than making their Burdens the heavier; ſo that in a ſhort time, the *Presbyterians*, who had been the chief Authors of his Reſtauration, (his own Party being then ſo inconſiderable, that they cannot be ſaid to have contributed more to it, than as Servants to the other) were moſt ungratefully uſed; their Miniſters turn'd out of their Livings; their Families expoſed to live in a great meaſure upon Charity; and that by him whom they had brought from that Condition himſelf, to the enjoyment of three Crowns.

His firſt Parliament acted regularly with an Eye to publick Good and Quiet; paſſing an Act of Indemnity for all, ſome few excepted; which he ſeemed to approve ſo much of, that in his cunning and cajoling way, he gave them the Name of the Healing-Parliament, and then diſſolved it, calling another more to his purpoſe: after which, how he kept his Indemnity, appears by his uſage of the great and incomparable Sir *Henry Vane*, Alderman *Ireton*, Mr. *Samuel Moyer*, Major *Gladman*, &c. In taking away the Life of the firſt, not only con-

trary to Faith, but as may be ſaid againſt an Act of Parliament, there being a Petition of both Houſes with the Royal Aſſent for his Security, wanting nothing to give it the Sanction of a Law ſave empty Formalities, as not being writ in Parchment, *&c.* which could be no Abſolution of the King as to his Conſent to the Petition of both Houſes: And this ought to be of odious Memory to all Poſterity, as alſo the murdering Principles of the Counſellors of that time, who influenced the Barbarity thereof. And if any ſay, we ought to forgive, and not remember what was ill in them that are dead: it may be anſwered, that Mankind hath no other means to keep Tyrants and their Adherents in awe, than by letting them know that their evil, no more than their good Deeds die with them; but will be equally tranſmitted to Poſterity, as neceſſary for Information of ſucceeding Ages: for, had it not been always ſo, the World had been ignorant of former Tranſactions. And beſides this deteſtable Breach of Faith, this *Charles* the Second kept the reſt of the forementioned Perſons in Priſon, contrary to the Act of Indemnity, until, like Slaves at *Algiers*, they redeemed their Liberty by great Sums, as Alderman *Ireton*, and Mr. *Samuel Moyer*, &c. whilſt others, under the like Tyranny, ſtood

ſtood it out till the *Habeas Corpus* Act came in uſe, after the withdrawing of Chancellor *Hide*, (which for ſeven or eight Years had been denied, or from the Iniquity of the Times, durſt not be moved for) were freed by Law without Fines. And this perfidious Breach of Faith was rather applauded by his Party than blamed, and not taken notice of by the Parliament.

He pretended great Zeal for the Reformed Religion, with an Abhorrence of Popery; yet in favour of the latter, endeavoured to ſet the Conformiſts at the greateſt difference with the Diſſenters, by ſeveral Acts againſt the latter, and ſevere Proſecution thereupon. And this, whilſt at the ſame time all Proceedings againſt the Papiſts in the Exchequer upon Conviction were ſtopped to the preſerving of them, when Proteſtant Diſſenters were many of them ruined by cloſe Impriſoments, where they died; he deſigning all along no leſs than Popery and Slavery, even when he pretended the contrary. His two unjuſt, coſtly and cauſleſs Wars with *Holland*, being in order thereunto; as was the burning of *London*, and the Popiſh Plot diſcovered by Dr. *Oats*; yet rather than be thought to have any hand in the latter, he ſuffered about twenty Perſons, which he is ſtrongly

ſuſpected

ſuſpected to have employed in it, to die for it.

When the burning of *London*, the frequent ſubſequent Fires in *Southwark*, St. *Katharines*, and ſeveral parts of the City, *&c.* would not ſerve his Ends, he contrived a Proteſtant Plot for murdering of himſelf, and (as he untruly ſuggeſted) introducing a Commonwealth; and as the moſt probable Inſtrument, (as he thought, tho therein miſtaken) Mr. *Clapol*, a Son-in-Law of *Cromwel*, muſt be charged with it, and without the leaſt ground clapped up in Priſon, in the cloſeſt way; and had not the real Popiſh Plot broke out, he had ſurely been ſacrificed to give Credit to the Forgery; but Mr. *Clapol*'s unſutable Principles to ſuch a Deſign was enough to detect the Fraud and Villany, he having been in the Civil Wars, reckoned all along a Royaliſt and Anti-Republican. And thus ill Men are ſometimes caught in their own Snares, as this King was by his Miſtake in this Perſon.

This King having by turning and changing, got Judges and Counſellors to his purpoſe, corrupting by Penſions, *&c.* a Majority in the Parliament, carried all things as he pleaſed, till at laſt he loſt his Credit by the odiouſneſs of the Popiſh Plot, and his Compliance with *France*, to the advancing that King to what he is now come

come to; teaching him (compared to what he knew before) to build Ships, man, victual and ſail them; nay, even to fight, and ſound our Coaſts and Rivers; which was done in the time of his unhappy Adminiſtration, eſpecially in the Year 1672, in joyning with him againſt *Holland*, when none of his Ships were ſuffered to fight, but ſtand by and learn; that one *French* Commander that did ingage, being (as it's ſaid) at his return clapp'd in the *Baſtile* for it, which we never heard was complained of by us, nor excuſed by them. Nay, not to be wanting in any thing towards the Advancement of the *French* King, we gave him *Canada*, that neceſſary place for our *Newfound-Land* Fiſhery, (our chief Nurſery for Seamen) for an inſignificant part, compared to *Canada*, of the Iſland of St. *Chriſtophers*, which had belonged to us, under pretence, that he had taken it from us in our former War with the *Dutch*, when he ſided with them againſt us, and ſerved them as he did us, never appearing with them; making uſe only of his Declaration of War for them, to the end, to ſet us together by the Ears; that ſo he might have the better opportunity to ſet up himſelf, and worm us (as in a great meaſure he hath done) out of our *Newfound-Land* Fiſhery, and hath taken it

to

to himself: whereas formerly they used to pay us a kind of Tribute for Liberty of Fishing there; but now through our favour and carelesness they are arrived to that height of Fishing, that they are said to imploy so many Men in it, as produceth them five thousand new Seamen yearly; so that by the Conduct of our Counsellors, this King is, since 1662, when he had hardly twenty Men of War great and small, is come now to be Master of 150 at least. But tho by his wise Management of Affairs, and our bad, he in the Year 1690, rode in our Channel without controul, I hope he will never do so more, nor ever be encouraged to intitle himself to the Dominion of the Narrow Seas; except God for our Sins gives us over to be again betray'd by our Counsellors as formerly: for tho Kings themselves may be ill Men, yet without the like Counsellors, they cannot perpetrate their evil Designs. And methinks no true English-man should be able to hear of the Greatness of the *French* at Sea, without having his Heart raised with Indignation against the two last Reigns, their Favourites, Counsellors and Adherents; for that it is since the fore-mentioned 1662, that he hath been advanced to what he now is, as if the Design of our Government was then, solely and purely to advance the

French

French Tyranny, and deſtroy the Liberty of the Engliſh Nation.

This Government of ours hath been by our late Kings carried on by Tricks, which our Statiſts valued themſelves upon, as the Effect of their great Wiſdom; whereas it is truly nothing more than the Tranſcendency of Immorality, in which honeſter Men have not a Latitude. The Deſign of this Reign being all along to raiſe undeſervedly this King to the higheſt Eſtimation with the People, that they might with the more Facility increaſe his Revenue and Prerogative. At the opening of a Seſſions after a Prorogation, the then Lord-Keeper, to magnify the King's Merits, informed both Houſes of Parliament of the mighty Things he had done during the Interval for the Advantage of the Nation: amongſt which, that he had procured a free Trade to *Villa Franca*, as if it had been ſome eminent *Emporium*, with which we never before had had any Commerce; whereas it is but an inſignificant place lying upon the *Mediterranian*, belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*, where our Seamen, as they paſs by, may peradventure ſell to the Value of four or five hundred Pounds in Engliſh Silk-Stockings, and ſuch like Trifles: and this was done by the Court, preſuming on the Ignorance of all but themſelves, as a Trick to open

the

the Purſe of the Nation, to ſerve their Luxury, and ſtifle the Memory of the miſchievous ſale of *Dunkirk*, to the advancing the *French*'s Greatneſs at Sea, which is of no antienter date, than ſince the Purchaſe of that Harbour, having before had little Encouragement for Increaſe at Sea, and conſequently in Trade. And O that an Inquiry after the treacherous Inſtruments of thoſe Times may be made! that if any are in being, they may be laid aſide to prevent their doing any more ſo wickedly. And if good Harbours and Havens be of ſuch Import for the increaſe of Naval Strength and Trade, that by the addition of *Dunkirk* the French in a few Years became (from little or nothing) ſo formidable both at Sea and in Trade; How doth it accuſe us of want of Counſel in the Sale of *Dankirk*, and of Negligence in not improving the Advantages God and Nature hath given us above other Nations, in an excellent Situation, and plenty of tranſcendent Havens and Ports round the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, whilſt *France* hath none ſave *Breſt*, *Marſeillis* and *Toulon*, worth ſpeaking of. To enumerate their deceitful Artifices is hard, they are ſo many. This King at his Reſtauration in 1660, made a League with the States-General in deſign to prepare for

a War with them, having then found his Naval Forces very low.

In 1664, he began to quarrel with them without the leaſt cauſe, and againſt their real Endeavours for preventing it: But *Downing*, being Envoy Extraordinary at the *Hague*, to remove their Jealouſy of us, which was great, gave them, according to the Policy of thoſe Times, all aſſurance of Friendſhip, telling them, that if their *Eaſt-India* Ships then expected, were above *London*-Bridg, they would be as ſafe as in their own Harbours; yet their Merchants Ships to about the number, as it is ſaid, of 120, were upon frivolous pretences, firſt ſtopped as they came into our Channel, till at laſt ſome Months after, without Declaration of War, or any Cauſe ſhewn, they were confiſcated; and at the ſame time their *Smirna* Fleet was fallen upon before *Cadiz*; whereupon *Downing* thought fit to make a haſty Retreat by *Mazeland-Sluce*. And this Action was as little to our Honour as Profit; for tho we ſunk one or two of their Ships, to their great Damage, we took none; and for thoſe ſeized at home, our Management was ſo commendable, that upon the ſale of them, as I have heard, the King was made Debtor: And thus this War began, which proſpered in our hands according to the Juſtice of it.

The

The first Year of this War; the *Dutch East-India* Fleet coming home by the North of *Scotland*, upon the King of *Denmark*'s promise of Security, or at least relying upon their League with him, put into *Bergen* in *Norway*; where they were presently block'd up by our Fleet, under the Command of the Earl of *Sandwich*, who sent in some Ships to seize them, and had had them delivered, had not the Courier with Orders from *Copenhagen*, come too late to the Governour; *Sandwich*'s Ships being beaten off and retired with Loss, before the Orders came: for our Agent in *Denmark* had agreed with that King concerning them; but *Sandwich* not having notice of the Treaty, the Design was lost by falling too soon upon these Ships.

This War lasted near three Years, reckoning from our first seizing of their Ships: The third Year the King had given him 1250000 *l.* for that Summer's War; but it was the Wisdom and Honesty of our Counsellors, out of good Husbandry, to save the Money, by not setting forth a Fleet, which gave opportunity to our Enemies to burn our Ships in Harbour, for which we made an horrid Outcry against them, as treacherous, in doing it in the time of our Treaty with them for Peace at *Breda*; falsly adding, That it was contrary to a

Cessation

Ceſſation agreed upon: whereas when a Ceſſation was deſired by us, they poſitively denied it; which is ſufficient to vindicate the Integrity of their Proceedings, in anſwer to ignorant popular Clamour. And indeed, tho our Counſellors might be willing, for their Defence, to have the People underſtand this diſgraceful Affront to proceed from Falſneſs in the *Dutch*, I never heard that they at any time did publickly accuſe them of Breach of Faith in this Matter or Action.

Being thus worſted, it was pretended that want of Money was the Cauſe, tho upon Examination of the Accounts, by the Commiſſioners appointed by Act of Parliament to that end, there was not much above half ſpent of what was given expreſly for that War; which evinces our Miſcarriage to proceed from corrupt Counſels, want of Conduct, and not Money.

A Peace being concluded, to be revenged on the Dutch for what was our own Fault, we invited them and the Crown of *Sweden* to a Triple League with us againſt *France*, for reſtraining that King in his aſpiring Deſigns; wherein the Dutch were real, when our Deſign was only to render them odious to the French King, and enrage him againſt them, that by our then joyning with him, we might both together deſtroy

them, and in them the Proteſtant chief Bulwark.

Accordingly in 1671, at the Interview at *Dover*, betwixt *Charles* II. and his Siſter the Dutcheſs of *Orleance*, it was agreed to break the Triple League, to joyn with *France* againſt the Dutch; and to ſatisfy the *Swede* for this Breach, Mr. *Henry Coventry* was ſent Ambaſſador to that Crown, who procured from them the Diſſolution of the League. When this was done, and we had recovered Breath, after the Diſgrace we received in the former War, to have a pretence for a ſecond; One of our Yachts was ordered, in her coming from *Holland*, to ſteer out of her Courſe, and through the States Naval Fleet, then riding at Sea, that in caſe the whole Fleet did not ſtrike to our Boat, we might make that the Ground of a Quarrel.

That great Commander *de Ruyter*, then Admiral, not thinking their Articles of Peace could be underſtood to reach ſuch a little Circumſtance, did not anſwer our Demands or Expectation: and for not doing it, together with ſome Trivial Medals and Pictures, (which that People are much addicted to) was made the Cauſe of a Quarrel without Remedy; and Dr. *Stubbs*, as a fit Man for the Work, was ſent for out of the Country, to maintain by Writing the

the Juſtice of our Cauſe, which for 400 *l.* he performed the beſt he could, by two large Pamphlets; in the latter of which having been too free, in his magnifying the wiſe and excellent Management of the War againſt the Dutch, in that time called a Commonwealth, when we firſt made known unto the World our Greatneſs at Sea in beating them when in their *Zenith*, (which coſt, with the Ships in that time built, 2100000 *l.*) this Pamphlet was for ſome time ſtopped, till there being a neceſſity for it, then it paſſed. And when *Stubbs* was by a Friend of mine queſtioned, how he could in Conſcience write ſo falſly and injuriouſly againſt the Dutch? He confeſſed, he could write much more for them, than he had done againſt them, if he would.

And as the War at Sea coſt at that time the two firſt Years, which were the chargeableſt, 2100000 *l.* ſo at the ſame time a Land Army of 50000 Horſe and Foot, did not coſt, according to the Account given *Richard*'s Parliament, 80000 *l. per Annum*; Shirking and Cheating being then out of faſhion: for it may be obſerved that there is but one Family that was raiſed by Imployment under the then Government, and that neither till *Cromwel*'s Uſurpation, but many the worſe in their Eſtates for their Affection to their Country; and an Inſtance

may be given, which, I think, cannot be parallel'd in any Age or Nation, of two Families (beſides many others whoſe Sufferings were leſs) who were each 100000 *l.* the worſe for ſiding with the prevailing Party. I know the ordinary Anſwer to this is, by the Enemies of thoſe Times, (who cannot bear the hearing of the then Self-denial) that this could not have been bragged of, had they not loſt their publick Lands, by the Reſtauration of *Charles* the Second: To which may be replied,

Firſt, That there was ſo little of private Ends aimed at in thoſe then at the Helm, that never were any Lands of ſo hazardous a Title ſold at ſo high Rates; the Church-Lands in *Henry* the Eighth's Time were given away, compared to theſe.

Secondly, There were very few, whoſe Advantage by either Civil or Military Employments, tho then frugal living was in vogue, had enabled them to purchaſe above 2 or 300 *l. per Annum*, publick Title; which hath been nothing in latter Times for a Sub-Officer in two or three Years to arrive at, of ſecure Tenure.

Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* is uſually quoted in Anſwer hereunto; but very improperly, for he was born to 3000 *l. per Annum:* upon which he took up the Money wherewith he made his Purchaſe, and moſt of the Purchaſers

Purchaſers at that time of publick Lands, were private Perſons, hope of Profit attempting thereunto, who ought to be rather the Objects of Pity than Envy, coming thereby by the loſs. Upon the whole, the then Government cannot be taxed with ill Husbandry, in imbezeling the publick Stock, by under Sales, extraordinary Salaries, Annuities, Penſions or Rewards, to increaſe a Party for Arbitrary Government, as in the two laſt Reigns was done.

The Commiſſioners of the Navy, a Subordinate Committee to the Admiralty, had moderate Salaries; but the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty their Maſters (whoſe Management Dr. *Stubbs* magnifies, in his Defence of our War with *Holland* in 1672.) acted *gratis*, without any Perquiſites or Advantage to themſelves. But to prevent Miſtakes, this relates only to the Years before *Cromwel*'s Uſurpation; for in defence of his 4 Years and ¾ I have nothing to ſay that is commendable; for tho he found the Government before-hand, the Stores full, and the Army ſome Months in Advance, he left, according to the Account brought in to his Son *Richard*'s Parliament, a Debt of 1800000 *l.* but to do him Right, not from ill Husbandry, but from his Error in Politicks; for tho he underſtood home-Matters very well, he did not Foreign

Affairs, as appeared by his quarrelling with *Spain*, and joining with *France*, by which he contracted the aforesaid Debt: and as if God was displeased with the Injustice of his Design, he was most remarkably blasted in it at *Hispaniola*.

There i yet living (if not very lately dead) the Treasurers of War, and of the Navy in those Times, none of which have any thing to brag of; for in those days Men were so spirited for that they called Publick-Good, that they did not vie who should get or cozen most, as was in the two last Reigns, but who should merit most Honour by their Service for their Country. The incomparable General *Ireton* used to say, it was an Honour for a Man to die a Beggar in the Service of his Country; and accordingly he never sought himself, in adding to what he was born to; but God, as seeming pleased with his vertuous and self-denying Principles, hath providentially provided for his Family, beyond what could have been expected from his Paternal Estate: and the transmitting this to Posterity is the least the World owes to the Memory of this great and good Man.

After a Pretence for War agreed on, the next thing requisite was to find a Fund for the Charge, which was very difficult; for the Parliament having by woful Experience felt,

felt, from ill Conduct, the Burden of the firſt War, was unwilling to engage in a ſecond: but at laſt the new made Lord *Clifford*, with the help of his Friends, projected the ſtopping of all private Payments in the Exchequer: for which, as a Reward, he had the Treaſurers White Staff given him. The Fund gained hereby being about 13 or 1400000 *l.* which was a loſs to particular Creditors, many of them being ruined by it; ſo that from the Immorality of the Project, the Author of it deſerved rather another Reward, than that he received.

The War was commenced without any previous Declaration, by falling upon their *Smirna* Fleet in the Channel (as we had done in the firſt War before *Cadiz*) as they were upon their Voyage home, wherein we miſcarried, as well to our Diſhonour in being worſted, as in beginning the War by Surprize. In this War we ſhould have had the Aſſiſtance of *France*, and had a Squadron of that King's Ships joined us, but in deſign only to teach them to fight, ſound our Coaſts, and not help us; for (as it is before mentioned) that one Ship which from ignorance of the Intrigue, did fight, the Captain of her at his return home was (as is reported) clapp'd up in the *Baſtile* for hazarding his Maſter's Ship. The Parliament perceiving the driſt of the *French*

to be the weakning of both Parties, that at long-run he might become Superior to either or both, preſſed the King to a Peace betwixt Us and the Dutch; which he (tho unwillingly) conſented to; for not knowing how to deny ſo juſt a Requeſt, a Peace was concluded.

Now new Meaſures were taken, and a new Miniſter of State made choice of, one intirely devoted to the King's Will without reſerve. To gain the King's Ends, a Majority of the Members of Parliament was corrupted by Penſions, which were liberally beſtowed upon ſuch as were of depraved Principles, fit for any Miſchief: by which means, every thing, during ſome time, was brought bare-fac'd into the Houſe of Commons, and afterwards by ſide-Winds for the King's particular Deſigns, paſſed currently; until the Court going too high for a ſtanding Revenue, the Penſioners ſuſpecting, that when that was gained, their Penſions would ceaſe, they turned readily againſt the Court; which cauſed them, for gaining Money from the Parliament, to pretend a Quarrel with *France*, and in all haſte to raiſe an Army to that end: and to procure belief of their real Intentions, a Book under the Title of *Chriſtianiſſimus Chriſtianandus*, writ by Dr. *Marchemond Needham*, was publiſhed, rendring the French King ſo ſcanda-

ſcandalous in all his Ways, Actions and Deſigns, as cannot be thought would have been writ, without having firſt that King's Leave for writing it.

The Parliament, to take away from the King all Pretences of Complaint, gave him a Supply, by which he raiſed an Army; but finding in the Iſſue, that he was not real in his Pretenſions for a War, by refuſing to declare War, they preſſed him to disband his new-rais'd Army; and to effect the ſame, gave him Money to do it with; appointing Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *Thomas Player*, Col. *Whitley*, and Col. *Birch* to ſee it done; who diſcharged the Truſt repoſed in them with all Fidelity and Honeſty.

Theſe Arts or Tricks uſed for the Service of the French King, by which our Parliament was diſobliged, our King had no cauſe to doubt but that that King would hold himſelf obliged to aſſiſt him; and therefore he was applied to, and probably he had gained from him a Stipend of 300000 *l. per Annum* for ſome Years, had not the Duke of *Buckingham* prevented it: and upon what other account, than of being a Friend to his Native Country, is unknown: However, he did not only thereby irrecoverably loſe the Favour of the Court, but alſo drew ſo much the Hatred of it upon himſelf, that he was proſecuted for a Crime, which,

which, tho the Authors of the Profecution made little Conſcience of the thing themſelves, they hoped by it to have taken away his Life, for being inſtrumental in preſerving the Life of the Nation.

The Diſcovery of theſe, and other pernicious Deſigns, begot (not without cauſe) a great Jealouſy in the Parliament, of the Court and their Party; which carried them on to the addreſſing the King againſt ſome conſiderable Perſons, as evil Counſellors; which was for ſome time avoided by Adjournments and Prorogations of Parliament, till the horrid Popiſh Plot breaking out, thoſe Tricks could not longer hinder the impeaching ſeveral of them in Parliament for the higheſt of Crimes, bringing one of them to the Block; as had not the Diſſolution of Parliaments prevented it, the reſt in all likelihood had had the ſame fate, all of them having been arraigned at the Bar of the Lords Houſe, where ſome pleaded Guilty in pleading the King's Pardon; by which, Time being got for arguing the Point, till by the Diſſolution of ſeveral Parliaments, (which was on purpoſe to prevent Juſtice) they were unduly preſerved: for no ſuch Pardon (as the Lawyers ſay) againſt an Impeachment in Parliament is valuable in Law; and the King having no Power to pardon Offences, where in the Indictment he

he is not made a Party, as he is not by Impeachments in Parliament, they being by the Houſe of Commons, in the Name of All the Commons of *England*. The Diſſolution of Parliaments doth not give Priſoners at the Suit of the Commons the Privilege of being bailed, no Inferiour Court having by Law any ſuch Power; eſpecially the fault of their not being brought to Trial not being in the Parliament, but in the King, in not ſuffering them to ſit till they had cleared, or paſſed Judgment upon them, as he ought to have done.

This King (an Artiſt in King *James* the Firſt's King-Craft) obſerving his Conduct to have loſt all Reputation, confeſſed by a Declaration his Error, in governing his Affairs by Cabals, and not by Parliaments, and his Privy-Council, by whoſe Advice he had always thriven beſt; reſolving for the future to be adviſed by them, without Cabals: And in Conformity thereunto, he diſſolved entirely, by the ſaid Declaration, his Privy Council, and choſe another, under the notion of a new Council, into which was taken ſome of the moſt popular and honeſt Members of the Houſe of Commons; as the good Lord *Ruſſel*, the then Lord *Cavendiſh*, Sir *Henry Capel*, Mr. *Powle*, &c. but the Majority being of the old Leaven, they ſoon found the Deſign of bringing them into the Council

Council was meerly to give Credit to their ſiniſter Proceedings; which made them as ſoon unanimouſly withdraw, rather than be in the leaſt acceſſary to their unwarrantable and deſtructive Counſels and Actions. So that tho ſome will have the ſmall time theſe Gentlemen were in Council, to have been a great Advantage to the Court, in their Reputation, and blame them for it, I am of a contrary Opinion; and that there could not have been a greater, and more prejudicial Affront put upon a Prince, than that by ſuch an unanimous and publick leaving of his Council, in a way that amounted to no leſs than a Proteſt againſt his Proceedings; which could not but make a more diſadvantagious Impreſſion on the Minds of the People, than ſo ſhort a Continuance with them could be of advantage to the King.

Now new Meaſures are again taken, and with them a new Miniſter of State choſen; ſeveral Parliaments are diſſolved, and new ones called, in hopes of getting one at laſt to ſerve their turn; but the People growing more and more ſenſible of the Growth of Popery and Slavery, ſent ſuch ſutable Members to the Condition of the Nation, that they were almoſt as ſoon diſſolved as aſſembled, for three Parliaments ſucceſſively; and then, to be revenged of the Corporations for ſending ſuch Members, and of the

Members

Members themſelves for being averſe to the Deſtruction of the Nation, *Quo Warranto's*, by the Advice of a new Set of evil Counſellors, were brought to take away the old, and give them new Charters, that might ſubject them to the Arbitrary Will of the Prince; (illegal in the higheſt degree.) Nay, Boroughs by Preſcription were deſtroyed, and Charters impoſed upon them, to the infringing of their Privileges. *Hereford*, I think, was the firſt that had a new Charter impoſed upon them, by which all Power was ſo reſerved in the King, as an Example for thoſe that ſhould follow, that one might have thought ſhould have wrought an Hatred in all true Engliſh-Men, to the Authors or Abettors of ſuch Counſels. For a more miſchievous Deſign for inflaming the Nation could not be projected.

The Charter of *London*, by many Acts of Parliament, and in the comprehenſiveſt manner confirmed, was ſo gallantly defended by the City, nothing material being againſt them, as appears by the learned Arguments of the Lord Chief Juſtice *Pollixfen*, and Mr. Attorney General *Treby*, that one may wonder there ſhould be Lawyers found to plead againſt it; and that ſuch were found, is a Reproach upon their Perſons for being too mercenary.

As

As *Quo Warranto's* were for being re-
venged of the Corporations; ſo a Proteſtant
Plot was contrived, as well to ſtifle the
Popiſh Plot, as to deſtroy ſuch Gentlemen
as were thought to ſtand in the way o
Arbitrary Power and Popery, by falſe Evi-
dence, leaving treaſonable Papers at thei
Houſes, (as was done at Mr. *Dubois*'s Hou
in *London*) or putting them into thei
Pockets, and then ſeizing them, (of whic
Mr. *Fitz-Harris* gave my Lord *Shaftsbu*
warning:) Which made thoſe that kne
they were under the Envy of the Cour
when they were to come into Crowds, t
ſow up their Pockets, to prevent practiſin
ſuch Tricks upon them.

Fitz-Harris, whoſe Province it was t
act in theſe ways, to get or make treaſo
nable Lampoons, to trapan Perſons fall
judged to be of Antimonarchical Principle
for not playing his part well, and fearin
his Diſcovery, according to his Promiſe t
the then Sheriffs, of the Popiſh Plot, had
Rope for his Reward, being drawn, hang
and quartered; but, as a Gratuity for h
weak Endeavours, his Head and Quarte
were given to his Wife to bury. Soon aft
he was dead, an impudent, falſe and lyin
Confeſſion was made for him, as is fully d
monſtrated by the publiſhed Anſwer of tho
concerned in it, under the Title of *Tru*
vindica

vindicated, in reference to the Aſperſions caſt upon Sir Robert Clayton, &c. *publiſhed in the Name of Dr.* Hawkins, *as* Edward Fitz-Harris's *Confeſſion.* As alſo, the falſeneſs of this *Confeſſion* appears by the laſt Actions of his Life, (*viz.*) the Paper he read at his Execution, which was printed; and his giving the Sheriffs Thanks for their Civility and Kindneſs to him, which were his laſt Words; and yet by his *Confeſſion*, he is made to complain of them.

The deſign of *this Confeſſion*, and publiſhing of it, was by it to vindicate the Guilty, and accuſe the Innocent; for certain Perſons being determined for Deſtruction, it was thought fit to make them hereby odious to the People; that when they ſhould be murdered by form of Law, their Deaths might be the leſs reſented.

To give an Inſtance of the Evidence made uſe of in theſe Times, the Witneſſes againſt my Lord *Shaftsbury* were ſo ſcandalous, as Ages to come will not believe that ſuch ſhould be offered againſt any Man, much leſs one of his Quality: As *Booth*, a Miniſter of the Church of *England*, and Parſon of *Ogle* in *Northumberland*; well-known to be an infamous Raſcal, and violently ſuſpected for the Murder of one of his Servants, to conceal his Clipping of Money, of which he was (notwithſtanding) convicted;

convicted, and condemned, and had been hanged, had not the Duke of *Newcastle*, who gave him his Parsonage at *Ogle*, begged his Pardon. And I have heard an honest Divine of the Church, who had known him from his Youth, say, that he could write a Volume of his Rogueries: So that nothing less than shameless Impudence could have produced him against the Life, Honour, or Estate of any one. The rest of the Witnesses were not better, as the Affidavits hereunto annexed do evince, *Barry* (or Narrative-*Smith*) being one, *&c.* And that such Evidence might pass with the Grand-Jury, both they and the Witnesses were heard in Court, that the first might be brow-beaten, and the latter countenanced, and hear what one another said; (at least an unusual Method, if not contrary to Law.) And to help all forward, the Lord Chief Justice told the Grand-Jury, that they were not to enquire into the Credibility of the Witnesses; whilst the Law, in expres words, speaks the contrary. And to make all sure, that none should escape, whom the Court at *Whitehall* would have destroyed, the Witnesses to an Indictment brought against a Combination of Rogues, for Perjury, and Subordination of Perjury, to disable them for taking away the Lives of the Innocent, the Lord Chief Justice refused

to

to ſwear them, becauſe againſt the King's Evidence, except the Attorney-General would give leave; who, he could not but know, was too much of the Court-Faction to do it: By which means thoſe Villains eſcaped Conviction, and left at Liberty to hang whom they pleaſed. And tho Mr. *Bethel*, then Sheriff, complained publickly in Court, that he had Affidavits to prove his Life ſo far deſigned againſt, that thoſe profligate Raſcals offered (in *Auguſt* 1681.) to lay Wagers of ten to one, that they would hang him before *Chriſtmaſs* following, he could not procure any Proceedings againſt them: But it is believed that his Complaint had this Effect, that it hindr'd the Attorney-General's producing a Bag of Indictments he had then ready againſt ſeveral honeſt and innocent Perſons, againſt whom theſe Varlets ſhould have been made uſe of. And this was the Conſequence of the Court's turning out and changing Judges till they had got Men for their turn, who would make any thing Law the Court would have; and who having by Penſions and Rewards, got Witneſſes to ſwear accordingly; and by packing of Juries, got ſuch as would find what they would have found, it was in the King's Power to hang whom he pleaſed; and that of a large Liſt of Perſons marked out for Deſtruction, there were

no more murdered, muſt be aſcribed to the over-ruling Hand of Providence. The Lord deliver us from the like Times, when Judges, Juries, Witneſſes and Counſel, all ſtrive who ſhould moſt ſignalize their Zeal for Tyranny, by ſtrains of Wit, and wreſting of Law; as appears by Mr. *Hawle*'s Remarks upon ſome of the Trials of thoſe Times. Beſides, ambitious Citizens, Officers in Places of Profit, Penſioners, and Suitors for the like, were all the ſame; inſomuch that it might in ſome meaſure be ſaid, that *all Fleſh had corrupted their Ways:* and if we ſhould again hunt with the ſame Dogs, they would ſtart the ſame Hare.

The Parliament by ſeveral Acts hath judged the Lord *Ruſſel*, Colonel *Sidney*, Alderman *Corniſh* murdered, voted Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* the ſame, reverſed ſeveral unjuſt Verdicts to the perpetual Infamy of all thoſe Juries, and yet have pardoned moſt of the Murderers and Oppreſſors by an Act of Indemnity; which I wiſh may not bring a Judgment upon us, to the blaſting our Deſigns, (Murder and Oppreſſion being crying Sins) nor incourage the like in the future againſt all that ſhall ſtand in the way of Arbitrary Government, if ever we ſhould have a King that affects it. However, I doubt not but God will protect his Church and People for his own Name ſake, humble their

their Enemies, and that great Tyrant of *France:* but yet, without Reformation, I fear we ſhall ſhare but little in the Honour of the Work; but that God in Mercy will effect otherwiſe, his Dealings in the World being unconceivable.

The corrupting and vitiating the Nation had been long deſigned, as neceſſary for introducing Popery and Slavery: for whilſt Men are vertuous, and not afraid of the Laws, they will expect and contend for the benefit of them; but when by Debauchery and Immorality they ſtand in need of Indulgence for incouragement of their Luſts, they will be careleſs of their Civil Rights; and therefore the lewdeſt Examples were thought fit to be given them, with Connivance at their Practice, as in Swearing, Whoring, Drinking, Atheiſtical and Blaſphemous Drollery, diſcouraging all Religion, ſave what conſiſted in meer Formality, without diſcouraging Diſſoluteneſs; ſome of the worſt of Men being made choice of to gratify with Honours, Penſions and Places of Profit. But of all the odious ways uſed to gain a Party, none like that of teaching Youths to drink Healths with *Huzza's*, crying up the Breach of Laws for Loyalty, (when nothing is ſuch, but Obedience according to Law, the contrary being Diſloyalty) as was the publick Feaſting of

the Apprentices of *London* with the King's Veniſon, not leaving it in the Power of their Maſters, without making themſelves obnoxious, to forbid them that School of Vertue, or command Obedience in contradiction thereof: and that this ſhould be projected by the greateſt of the Court, who graced their Society with their Preſence, may be reckoned, for all their Wit, an Error in Politicks, in courting in ſuch manner the *Mobile*, or rather Rabble (as it was no leſs) in whom there is no Conſtancy; for being acted by preſent Apprehenſions or Humour, they are as uncertain as the Wind; nothing being to be relied upon, ſave honeſt unſelfiſh Principles, for ſuch will in the end prevail in ſpite of all the Devils in Hell; and in the Faith of this I ſhall die, tho I may not live to ſee it. And I cannot but obſerve in this place, that of theſe the Gallows have ſince claimed her Right to ſome of the Heads and Ring-leaders for the moſt enormous Crimes, as Murder and Theft, to the Credit of their Fraternity.

Theſe and ſuch like Courſes, which moſt of our conforming Clergy teaching from their Pulpits (as alſo in Taverns and Coffee-houſes) the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance without limitation*, have ſo poiſon'd the Nation, that without an extraordinary

Work

Work of God, a Recovery cannot be expected: for tho I think, the good People of *England* of all Communions are the beſt; I believe the Profane, as they are by ill Examples of late Years brought unto, are the worſt of Men, exceeding all others in wicked and immoral Practices; which we owe chiefly, to the two laſt Kings Examples, their evil and pernicious Counſellors and Favourites.

It is a Maxim in our Law, *That the King can do no Wrong*, which muſt refer only to Matters of State, and not Perſonal Actions; for that it cannot be denied, but he that lies with another Man's Wife, or kills his Neighbour, *&c.* doth them Wrong: but as the King in other caſes muſt act by Inſtruments; ſo it is but reaſonable they ſhould be anſwerable for Miſcarriages in Government; becauſe being free Agents, what they do is of choice, the Service of Princes being ſought and not compelled; and were it not for Evil Counſellors, Princes would not be ſo bad as they often are. Queen *Elizabeth* of famous Memory, her Vertue appeared, not only in her natural, juſt and equal Principles, but alſo in the Election of ſutable Counſellors, Men at leaſt morally honeſt, aiming more at publick than their own private Benefit; ſhe encouraged Vertue, making Honour the Reward of it,

and not of Pimping and all manner of Vice; ſhe reproved her great Favourite, that unhappy Earl of *Eſſex*, whom ſhe made General in her Expedition for *Cadiz*, for conferring the Honour of Knighthood upon ſome few, whoſe Service at that time he judged deſerved it, when ſhe thought a leſs Reward might have ſerved. In her time, Knighthood was not expected voluntarily by any Citizens ſave the Lord-Mayor; nor was it thought of by the two ſucceeding Kings, till *Charles* the Firſt, at his Return from *Scotland* in 1641, after failing in his Deſign there againſt Duke *Hamilton*, Marquiſs of *Argile*, and General *Leſly*, &c. thinking it a convenient way to corrupt a Party for his intended Quarrel with the Parliament, that he Knighted ſeveral Aldermen of the City of *London*; and after that, both he and his Son *Charles* the Second made liberal uſe of their Sword in Dubbing all that came near them, from whom they could hope for the leaſt Aſſiſtance in their Deſign for Popery and Slavery; the Deliverers of Addreſſes, abhorring petitioning for Parliaments, as likewiſe thoſe giving Thanks for diſſolving the beſt of Parliaments, *&c.* being procured by the Emiſſaries of *Charles* the Second, could not in the opinion of thoſe that hated Parliaments, deſerve leſs than a Knighthood, to the encouragement

ment of others to follow their Example. It may be the Enemies to this good Queen will object that ſhe had ſome angry Fits: To which may be anſwered, that they were born with, as Children at ſuch times do with their Parents, being ſatisfied that ſhe had a true and ſincere Love for the Nation; upon which account ſome little Paſſions ſubject to her Sex might very well be indured.

The Eſtates that have by corrupt ways to advance the Prerogative been raiſed, and Honours conferred in the four laſt Reigns, eſpecially ſince the Reſtauration, exceed, I believe, above forty times thoſe in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; and yet the number of Years of all their Reigns, abating the eighteen Years Interval, comes a quarter part ſhort of doubling hers: ſhe made few Lords, about four or five, very ſparing of Knighthood, and never conferred any, but (as is before noted) for Merit; and accordingly ſhe thriv'd in the Love of her Subjects at home, and Honour abroad. In her time the Nation was famous for glorious Actions, as before mentioned, in relieving the oppreſſed Proteſtants in *France*, *Scotland* and *Holland*, which ſhe could not have done, had ſhe been tied up by the late deviſed Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*; beſides ſubduing her

Rebels in *England* as well as in *Ireland*, and pulling down, when none elſe could do it, the proud Houſe of *Auſtria*, deſigning then the Univerſal Monarchy; whereas I do not find one generous or honourable Act to be boaſted of during the laſt four Reigns.

There are two ill Notions in behalf of Statiſts, which to the Prejudice of Mankind have prevailed in the World, the one the calling *Knavery* Reaſon of State, by which they excuſe all their ſiniſter and wicked Deſigns, as if God had left us without honeſt means for preſerving our ſelves; the other, that *Wit* and *Parts* do alone qualify a Perſon for the Service of his Prince in his weightieſt Affairs: It's true, ſuch Qualities are Ornaments, and with Honeſty without Debauchery, (which provokes God's Judgments) are fitteſt for Publick Imployment, and below Adoration cannot be too much magnified and applauded; yet good Ordinary Parts with Diligence and Integrity, is much beyond the higheſt flown Parts without the other: and we find great things have been done by ſuch as have not otherwiſe exceeded than in Uprightneſs, Induſtry and Sincerity; for without theſe Vertues, Men are but like the Devils, the worſe for their Wit. And this Notion may be illuſtrated by the following Story. In 1648, after the end of our ſecond War,

when

when the Cavaliers (as they were then called) came to *London* to compound, ſome of the King's Officers invited a Parliament Major of Horſe, that had been civil to them, to a Treat, to which he carried me with him: their Diſcourſe was not without Oaths, Cuſtom having made Swearing natural to them; but Healths (in Civility to their Gueſt) they forbore, becauſe they knew he would not pledg them, drinking a Health at that time being enough to turn any one out of his Command. After Dinner, when Tobacco came up, ſome kept the Table in reſpect to him they had invited, others roſe with their Pipes in their Hands, and in the middle of the Room by ſometimes ſmoking, ſometimes ſhaking their Heels, and ſinging, they diverted themſelves; which gave occaſion to the Gentleman that invited me, to bid me obſerve their Humour, telling me that ſuch was their Practice when they ſhould have been a fighting, not from Cowardiſe or want of Courage, as he ſaid, but from the Vanity of their Minds. From whence I conclude, that it was not the Parliament's Party exceeding the King's in Wit, Military Skill or Bravery, that got them the Victory or Conqueſt, but exceeding them in Integrity, Induſtry, Sobriety and Diligence that did it. And I remember that never-to-be-forgotten Honourable

nourable Perſon, Col. *Algernon Sydney*, at his Return from his Exile in *France*, and not long before he was murdered, told me that that King's Council had taken up the long Parliament's Diſcipline for their Example, which he ſaid would render him Great; whereas our falling from thoſe Principles has brought us to what we now are: For Lieutenant General *Kirk*'s Practice was never like to thrive; an Iriſh Lord told me that he was preſent, when one telling him that Col. *Richards* threatned to Caſhire a Souldier for Swearing, he ſaid, affirming it with an Oath, that if he knew any of his Men that would not Swear, Drink, Whore and Game, he would Caſhire them; which was but ſutable to his reducing Col. *Murry*, and thirteen Troops of Horſe (who had done the greateſt Service in Defence of *London-Derry*) ſo ſoon as the Town was relieved, and for no other Reaſon that is yet known, than for being too ſober, wherein he knew he ſhould oblige our profane Church-men.

Upon the whole; of all Men for publick Imployments, thoſe of depraved Principles are to be avoided: and they may infallibly be diſcovered, if formerly imploy'd, by their Actions in thoſe times: for if they have been wicked in one Reign, they will be the ſame in another, except there appear in them

them a ſignal Teſtimony of Repentance and Reformation. And beſides, they may be known by their Favourites; for he that makes choice of ſuch for his Confidents as are of immoral Principles, formerly guilty of Injuſtice, Oppreſſion and Cruelty, may well be concluded to be of the ſame Principles himſelf; for *Birds of a Feather flock together:* and that Proverb ſeldom fails, That *a Man may be known by his Company.*

The Spirit of God ſaith, *Take away the Wicked from before the King, and his Throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed in Righteouſneſs:* But our laſt Kings did ſo little regard this Divine Exhortation, that when the Commons in Parliament (who ought to be accounted good Judges of Mens fitneſs for State-Imployment) have in diſcharge of their Duties, endeavoured to follow this Advice, by addreſſing againſt obnoxious Perſons; tho they were never ſo vile, it was the way to advance them in their Princes Favour, (as *Sibthorp* and *Manwaring*,&c.) to the dignifying and farther rewarding them with Penſions or Places of Profit; and then to protect them by Adjournments, Prorogations or Diſſolutions of Parliaments; to which we owe the Diminution of our Glory abroad, and the Exaltation of our lately become great Neighbour.

Now

Now if any of theſe Perſons be in being, tho upon ſome accounts they may merit a Pardon for former Crimes, it cannot give them an opportunity of acting over again what they have been already guilty of, to the Prejudice and Danger of the Nation, but of being diſabled of all farther Imployments, either Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, or Military.

And till we follow the Maxims of good Queen *Elizabeth* in the choice of Perſons for the King and Nation's Service, making Sincerity, Ability, Self-denial and Diligence (after ſignal Teſtimony given thereof) the Qualifications for Civil Imployments (as ſuch may be had) and the like, with addition of Gratitude, Affability, eaſy Acceſs and Fidelity in Military Commands, we ſhall never recover the Honour we arrived at in her time, tho then we were poor and low to what we now are; and when our Enemies in the whole Houſe of *Auſtria*, *France*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and our Papiſts at home, might well be thought to have been greater than any we now have: for without theſe Qualifications, which ſome for their own end may ridicule, no Military Officers can ever be great.

It is ſaid of *Guſtavus Adolphus* (whoſe Greatneſs as to Civil as well as Military Art, is mentioned even in naming of him) being

being ſenſible that no Man abounds ſo much in Knowledg, that hearing the Sentiments of others may not be of advantage to him, he had his certain places and times for expoſing himſelf to all that had any thing to ſay by Petition or otherwiſe; and ſo familiarized his Soldiers, that he would ſometimes in deep Snows in the Winter march on foot with his Army, and lie in his Tent upon Straw, whereby he made himſelf Maſter of the Hearts and Affections of his People of all ſorts. My Lord *Bacon* ſaith, that *Taciturnity* in a Fool is Wiſdom, but in a Man of Underſtanding Weakneſs; and agreeable hereunto the Apoſtle's Inſtruction, (*Jam.* 1. 19.) *To be ready to hear, and ſlow to ſpeak*, is to be underſtood as a Reproof of thoſe that know not when to ſpeak, and when to be ſilent.

It is a Debt due to thoſe Heroes who have been indued with theſe Qualifications, or ſuch of them as were proper for the Poſt they were in, to have them as Precedents recorded to Poſterity in Celebration of their Memories; as the Grandfather of the preſent *Landtgrave* of *Heſs-Caſtle* is an eminent Inſtance, That when the Crown of *Sweden* was deſerted by all the ruling Princes of *Germany* in making their Peace with the Emperor, ſave himſelf, his Faithfulneſs to his Word was ſuch, that he refuſed to follow

follow their Example, saying, *He would not forfeit his Faith, tho he left not his Son a House to put his Head in*; which provoked the Emperor in 1636, being then Master of the Field, to fall upon him, burning in his Territories (according to common Fame) 3600 Dorps, or Villages, leaving him no considerable Places besides *Cassel* and *Ziegenhagen*, which he could not master; and yet all this could not shake the Fidelity of this great and good Prince: For the Imperialists were no sooner drawn off, after they thought they had ruined him, than he took the Field afresh in 1637, with an Army of his own Subjects, brave and faithful to the Cause, taking that Summer the Town called the *Feight*, near the City of *Breman*, where I had the Honour and Satisfaction to see him; he took his Winter-Quarters in *East Frizeland* and at *Liere*: it pleased God that Year to take him to himself, exceedingly lamented by all Sorts and Qualities; he left the Conduct of his Affairs (his Children being very young) to his excellent Lady, a Daughter of the House of *Hanover*, near *Franckford* upon the *Main*, who was then with him, and *Mylander*, an experienced Souldier, for her General: and she answering her Husband's and his Ancestors Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and his Faithfulness in her Adhesion to the *Swedes*, she by God's Blessing

Bleſſing and wiſe Conduct, recovered by degrees all their Loſſes; and by the Peace at *Munſter* in 1648, ſhe had given her 500000 Rix Dollars, beſides a great Addition to their Inheritance of Eccleſiaſtical Lands, as a juſt Reward for their Faithfulneſs to their Word and Promiſe by their Declaration in the beginning of the War; an Example for Princes to be true to their Ingagements, as that which is acceptable and pleaſing unto God. And this Alienation of Church-Lands could not be hindered by the Pope's Legat, Plenipotentiary at making of the Peace at *Munſter*, who was after made Pope *Alexander* VII.

It is recorded of two of the French Kings, and to the Honour of him that uſed to ſay, *If Faith were loſt in the World, it ſhould be found in him*; and to the perpetual Infamy of the other who uſed to ſay, *That he that knew not how to diſſemble, knew not how to reign*; as if God had left the World deſtitute of honeſt means of Preſervation; an Atheiſtical Principle.

The Iniquity of the late Times was ſo great, that nothing that could help the introducing of Slavery was left unattempted; inſomuch that we owe our Deliverance meerly to the Providence of God. The giving Power to the King to levy Money in the Interval of Parliaments upon emergent Occaſions,

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Occaſions, which he was to be Judg of, was projected by our Councillors, and that failing, a general Exciſe for the perfecting our Slavery; and to get a Majority in the Houſe to effect it, all ways poſſible were uſed; as the buying the Votes of Members of Parliament, by Penſions (the higheſt of Treaſons in the Judgment of that great Oracle of the Law, Sir *John Maynard*) maintaining Tables at the publick Charge; managed by ſome Members of the Houſe, that what could not be done by dry Money, might be by Debauchery, highly odious, as well in the Executors as Deſigners; both proceeding from ſordid, ſlaviſh and unmanly Principles: And ſo many Members had by theſe means liſted themſelves againſt *Magna Charta*, that had they not feared the ſelling of the Nation would have proved the ſelling their own Stipends or Wages, all had gone; which leaves us without being indebted in the leaſt to our Truſtees, for refuſing to give us up to Arbitrary Power and Popery. But I do not in this deny, but that there were in this a conſiderable number of worthy Patriots, that would rather have ſuffered Death, than have ſold the Rights and Privileges of their Country, (whoſe Names deſerve to be writ in Letters of Gold to Poſterity, whilſt the other to be obliterated, or marked with Infamy) had they

not

not (alas) been over-voted by a corrupt and depraved Party; which muſt raiſe the Indignation of all true free-born Engliſhmen againſt thoſe in the late times, that have had any hand in plotting, projecting or abetting the betraying of their Country, if ſtill they continue the ſame Principles without remorſe.

Beſides the ways uſed, as is before-mentioned, for the introducing of Popery and Slavery, it may be obſerved, That whereas the Deſigns of good Queen *Elizabeth* were againſt the Pope and his Adherents, the Deſigns of our late Governours have been for him and his Friends. All the little Tricks ſerviceable therein having been made uſe of; as the impoſing Conſuls upon our Merchants abroad, in places where they had never been before, meerly at their Charge, to gratify and oblige to them the worſt of Men; giving them Patents to levy Money, under pretence of their Office, upon the Subjects without their Conſent, contrary to the Fundamental Liberties of *England*, as was done at *Amſterdam*, &c. And the like vigorouſly endeavoured in behalf of a profeſſed Papiſt at *Roterdam*, but by the ſuddenneſs of our Revolution they failed in that. And alſo another approach to Arbitrary Government, was the paſſing by the Rules directed by the Law, for

chuſing Sheriffs for the Counties, and taking them at large, as might be moſt ſerviceable to unlimited Will and Luſt, *&c.* And ſuch Practices as theſe were ſo many, as are hardly to be enumerated; and now having remembred theſe, they with what goes before, and our League with *France*, for exalting him in order to his humbling and bringing us low, one may think are enough to render thoſe Times, and the Actors in them odious and unfit for future Truſt; nothing that comes from ſuch, tho never ſo plauſibly delivered, but the Integrity of it ought to be ſuſpected: For as formerly they cried out of *Forty one* as a Scarecrow, that Notion being now worn thread-bare, they have taken up that of a *Commonwealth* and the *care of the Church*, to cozen the good People of this Nation into a jealouſy of their beſt Friends, whilſt their Enemies work their Ruin; but it is hoped that Experience hath made them wiſer, than to be ſo impoſed upon by miſapplying of Names.

The word *Commonwealth*, tho the Language of the Law, was endeavoured to be made an obnoxious Character of all ſuch as ſhould ſpeak of Law, or expect the benefit of it; and it is to be feared, that the ſame Projectors do aim at the ſame Deſign, in adding to the word *Commonwealth*, the *Care of the Church*; becauſe a plauſible Notion, when

when it is in no danger, except of reducing them to a more ſober and vertuous Life and Converſation; otherwiſe they would think it for the honour of the Church, to have Men of Sobriety and Morality, accounted Members of it; and yet they will not allow any to be of the Church of *England*, tho ſuch as were never at a ſeparate Congregation in their Lives, and as ready and perfect in their Reſponſes, as any Cathedral-Man whatever, if free from Immorality, and for ruling according to Law.

But it is no wonder, that our bigotted Church-men (who are the only Men I mean) ſhould be willing to forget *Forty one*, and in place thereof to take up an outcry for *Care of the Church*; becauſe about that time the Committee for ſcandalous Miniſters, appointed by Parliament, diſcovered great Lewdneſs and Ignorance in many of the Clergy; and had not the War prevented their Proceedings, they had at that time purged the whole Kingdom of inſufficient, Popiſhly-affected, ſuperſtitious and debauched Miniſters; but having no Command over any, (by reaſon of the War) ſave ſuch as were near hand; they could not receive Information from above ſix or ſeven Counties, which afforded them (according to my Information) not above three Centries; the firſt of which

(having escaped the Flames of *London*) is to be bought at Mrs. *Miller*'s, Bookseller, near St. *Paul*'s Church; by which it appears, they were so horridly scandalous, that the Parliament could not have exposed the Church, and therein the Bishops of those Times, for want of care in their Visitations, had not Complaints from *Oxford*, for having unjustly deprived them, forced the Parliament for their own Vindication, to make the Names of the particular Ministers with their Crimes known by publishing them in Print.

And if by the outcry of *having a Care of the Church*, is meant the having such another Inquisition, all sober Men will readily agree to it; and if in the time of *Charles* the First, of so celebrated a Memory for Piety, there was need of such an Inquiry into the Lives, Conversations, Popishly-affected and Insufficiency of the Clergy, it may well be thought much more needful, after the several Reigns of his two Sons. Besides, if they be not prevented, they may, as they have already begun, go on in taking upon them the Legislative Power, by farther Impositions in the Worship of God: For tho the Act for injoyning the Book of Common-Prayer forbids both affirmatively and negatively, any other Method or Form of Service, Rites or Ceremonies than is there

there directed, they are great Non-Conformists, in disobeying that Rule, in several Additions in approach to Popery, as in their second Service, of which a third part of the Congregation cannot hear a word. In the Ministers reading one Verse in the Psalms, and the People another, therein taking the Minister's Office out of his hands. In the Minister and Clark reading together with a loud Voice the Lord's-Prayer, in a way void of Reverence due to Prayer. In the use of Organs in the singing of Psalms, with other unwarrantable Additions, this last being declared against in our Homilies, which Homiles with the thirty six Articles (confirmed by Act of Parliament, the other three wanting (as I have heard) that Sanction) contain the Doctrine of our Church, so that these and other Arbitrary Additions to our Discipline established by Law, seems to have been on purpose to hinder Devotion, and make the People Godless, according to *Laud*'s Design, in his Declaration for Sports on the Lord's-Day; for those that cannot read, or have no Books, which may be reckoned three quarters of an Episcopal Congregation, cannot have any benefit, either by reading the Psalms in the manner now used, or by singing with Organs, and all the Plea for the latter I ever heard of, is to help the People to sing in tune, to the

pleaſing of the Ear, a very unwarrantable Excuſe, God requiring all to ſing with Grace in the Heart, and not a few to ſing with Art, whilſt the reſt doth not underſtand what is ſung. And to this may be added, the endeavouring to make it a ſuperſtitious Faſhion to ſit bare during Sermon, which is a new Impoſition brought in by *Laud*, and not practiſed above two or three Years, before put down by the wiſe long Parliament, and ſo continued, till the Reſtauration of *Charles* the Second, with whom came in all *Laud*'s Practices. And this of ſitting bare in Sermon-time, is not known in any other Chriſtian Church: for tho the Papiſts are bare in their Church out of Service-time, whom we endeavour to imitate in that circumſtance, yet they are covered during Sermon, wherein we out-go them; the reaſon for which I leave to themſelves, confeſſing I never underſtood any for the one more than for the other. And if it be objected, that our Church doth not command being bare during Sermon; yet they do it, in making it uncivil to do otherwiſe. And the Miniſter of *Finchly*, not long ſince, cauſed one for being covered whilſt he was in his Sermon to be committed; who, bringing his Action againſt the Juſtice for falſe Impriſonment, recovered good Damages of him; which, tho ſufficient to prove the Church's

Uſurpa-

Uſurpation in this matter, they do notwithſtanding go on in it, as a part of that new Popery formerly intended by *Laud* in his time. The Foundation of which was laid in an increaſe of Ceremonies, Dominion and Popiſh Grandeur, with little regard to Religion, or the Power of Godlineſs; for which cauſe it lay dormant till lately, that it again ſprung up with falſly aſſuming the Name of *the Church of* England *eſtabliſhed by Law*; whereas if the Practices of moſt of our Churches be examined by the laſt Act of Uniformity, they will be found Nonconformiſts in their offenſive Additions, to the Prejudice of the Church, hindering thereby many joyning with them, which otherwiſe might come in: and this the late pious Biſhop of *Lincoln* uſed to call by way of diſlike *Superconformity*, tho perhaps his Mildneſs could not contend againſt the Stream for Reformation herein, no not in his own Dioceſs: But from hence I will take the freedom to recommend to our Reverend Biſhops, the reducing the Church in their Practice to the legal Rule, and not leave a neceſſity upon the Parliament to do that which is their Province, the keeping the Church conformable in their ſeveral Offices as well as in Doctrine, according to the Rule eſtabliſhed by Law, as in the thirty ſix Articles, Homilies and Rubrick, which will be

more effectual in gaining Nonconformists than any other way; and till then, our Church-men ought not to pretend to the Title of Conformists, for going contrary to the establish'd Rule, is as well Nonconformity in the Episcopal Party as in the Presbyterians or Independents, and allowing an Arbitrary Power to Church-men is dangerous, not knowing wherein their Itch therein will rest. For it appears by the Writings of former Ages, that it was the trimming Connivance of some learned and pious Men, at seeming immaterial Ceremonies, that first gave the rise to Popery, the Consequence whereof, hath been the ruin in a great measure of the Christian Church, as the like Weakness hath been the destruction of common Liberty in most of the Communities in the World: for it cannot be imagined that Rational Creatures would ever by an original Contract (from whence proceeds all lawful Governments) give up their Rights to the Arbitrary Will of one Person, and his Heirs and Successors, who may be ungovernably wilful Ideots, or worse (as the late King of *Portugal*) and so instead of answering their Promotion (the Good of the Community) they may prove the ruin of it: And therefore as there is a right and a wrong in Civil as well as Ecclesiastical Obedience, defined by Holy Writ, and Human Laws,

Laws, it is every Man's Duty to ſtudy both, and being Maſter thereof, to abide by the Truth, without warping or trimming, and alſo to be aware of the fraudulent miſapplying that good Temper of Moderation, which the worſt of Men do commonly make uſe of for advancing a bad Cauſe, and inſnaring Men of Sincerity, of whom when they have gained their Point they will be infallibly true to their Maxim of taking all they can get, and parting with nothing they can keep, which ought to caution thoſe of Integrity to be in their ſeveral Stations, as ſteady to Vertue and Truth, as others are to their falſe and wicked Deſigns.

This may perhaps be thought Severity upon the Church, but there is no general Rule without an Exception: and I believe there are many good Men to be herein excepted; tho the generality are guilty, and ſo bigotted, that there is no obliging them, or Quarter to be had with them by any but ſuch as themſelves, which is the unhappy Cauſe of our great Diviſions at this time, eſpecially in the City of *London*; and that which is worſt of all, without Remedy, ſo long as nothing leſs than the Denial of Senſe, Reaſon and Morality will be allowed by our Bigots (the Perſons I only complain of) as the Conditions of Union and Converſation; and theſe following Inſtances may

may well be thought in ſome meaſure a Proof hereof: As, the Lieutenancy refuſing a Captain, becauſe it was objected againſt him that he had ſixteen Years before heard that eminent Miniſter of the Goſpel, Mr. *Jenkins* (now with God) preach a Sermon: As another was refuſed by one of their Captains, being his Lieutenant, for anſwering to the Queſtion of what Miniſter he heard? That he heard ſuch an one, a moderate Church-man; upon which he was told by the Captain, that Moderation would not ſerve at this time; and therefore rejected him as not for his turn: Whereupon, the Party that ſhould have been his Enſign being by, and hearing it, moved with Indignation thereat, rejected him for his Immoderation, and denied to ſerve him; and all this ſince the Act of Toleration. But this Spirit reigns ſo violently in them, that they are now feared to be more ready than formerly, ſhould they, by Sheriffs like themſelves, be called upon Juries to murder and undo by falſe Verdicts, all that ſhall be known to own King *William* and Queen *Mary* to be King and Queen *de Jure* as well as *de Facto*.

And now I leave *Charles* II. whoſe Council and Favourites left nothing undone which might perfect the Deſtruction of *England*, ſave the ſelling *Tangier* to the *French*;

French; which that they did not do, is one of the Wonders of this Reign. There needs no other Character of this King, than his Anſwer to one who deſired him to have regard in his Deportment to his Memory after Death, *(viz.)* That *Let not Men ſpeak ill of him whilſt he lived, and he cared not what they ſhould ſay of him when he was dead.*

How he was taken away is in the dark, but vilely ſuſpected: His Succeſſor may be ſaid not to be ſo Godleſs as he, tho not leſs cruel; but from what Principle is not to be determined, unleſs it was from being both equal as to Fear, from whence Cruelty doth generally proceed. I know all the ill things done by the eldeſt Brother, is ordinarily laid to the Charge of the younger; wherein I differ from that common Opinion, believing that *Charles* II. was never impoſed upon by *James* II. but the firſt having the Maſter-wit, and with it great Cunning, was willing his Brother ſhould have the Name of any thing offenſive to the People, when even it was that himſelf deſired moſt to have done. And thus ends the Reign of *Charles* II. whoſe Practices for arriving at Arbitrary Power and Popery appear, in ſome degrees over and above what is before mentioned, by the Affidavits hereunto annex'd, with Captain *Wilkinſon*'s Information;

tion; which ſhew the Subordination of Perjury to have been uſed by his Miniſters, for taking away the Lives of innocent Men.

James II who ſucceeded his Brother *Charles* II. ſending two Men to *Amſterdam*, when Duke of *York*, to burn their Ships in Harbour; who being taken, and at Execution confeſſing the Fact, it ſticks much upon him in that Country, as do ſeveral other Actions in this, which for the ſake of his vertuous Succeſſors, ought to be forgot, were it not neceſſary to give ſome Hints for the Vindication of the preſent Government, and juſtifying the late King's Abdication. The burning of *London*, and the many Fires ſince at St. *Katharines*, *Southwark*, &c. belonged without doubt to the Popiſh Plot; and how far the then Duke of *York* was concerned therein, *Coleman*'s Letters in Print, in ſome kind ſhew. As alſo the Narrative of the Murder of my Lord of *Eſſex*, is a clear Demonſtration of thoſe that were concern'd in that more than cruel and barbarous Aſſaſſination.

But to paſs by all other things before his coming to the Crown, he no ſooner arrived at the Throne, than he declared himſelf a Papiſt; a Name (in favour of that Religion) out of faſhion ever ſince the Reſtauration; but being the Language of the Law, I think fitteſt to be uſed. At his

firſt

firſt appearing in Council after his Brother's Death, which was as quick as could be, he promiſed to rule according to Law; and yet, in two or three days after, commanded by Proclamation the Payment of Cuſtoms, before given by Parliament, which is contrary to Law; and from that time forward went on in the ſame way, going publickly to Maſs the firſt *Lord's-Day*, of which Religion the bigotted Church-men (who will never believe any thing till it be too late) would not before own him to be.

His Brother died on the *Friday*, and *Saturday*-ſeven-night after was in the Evening privately buried. Before the Funeral he knighted Sir *Peter Rich*, and ſoon after did the ſame by Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*, and made Sir *George Jeffries* a Baron, none of which three, as may be obſerved, would King *Charles* II. ſo far dignify, tho he had made them his Tools to ſerve the worſt of Turns. The now Sir *Dudley North* was knighted in his Sheriffalty, and poſſibly for the ſake of his Family; for Sir *Peter Rich*, his Partner, who joined with him in appointing the Jury that found my Lord *Ruſſel* guilty, and brought him to Execution, was paſſed by till *James* II came to the Crown, and judged him worthy of the Honour of Knighthood.

This

This King called immediately a Parliament, and thought he had by his Influence ſo pack'd one, that there were not thirty Members that would not do as they were bid. They gave him great Supplies of Money, and were as ſevere againſt the Duke of *Monmouth*, as himſelf was by his Inſtruments, *Kirk* and *Jefferies*, againſt all in the *Weſt*, ſuppoſed to be of his Party, contrary to the Mercy of former Times, when the Suffering of a few atoned for the reſt. But when Popery came upon the Stage, this Parliament would not ſerve the turn, which cauſed the adjourning and proroguing of it from time to time, hoping in the Intervals to have moulded it to his purpoſe; but that not ſucceeding, at laſt he diſſolved it, and then betook himſelf to Popiſh Counſels, *Petre* the Jeſuit being made one of his Council, and of his Cabal, not only contrary to Law, but alſo to the Practice of moſt, if not all other Popiſh Princes. For tho the Jeſuits make it their Deſign to ſcrue themſelves ſo far into the Favour of Princes, as to become their Confeſſors, that having Opportunity of infuſing wicked Principles into them, and by knowing their Secrets, may have the greater advantage of doing Miſchief; yet are ſeldom or never admitted Members of their Councils. The wiſe *Venetians* baniſhed them their Territories for

for their pernicious Principles, until, in requital of the Pope's assisting them in their Wars against the *Turks*, they were received into the City of *Venice*, *Anno* 1664. but are by the People, who hate them, very invidiously looked upon there. Nay, *Rome* is so jealous of their Immorality (as may be presumed) that they rarely admit of above two or three at most, to be at one time of the Consistory, the Pope's Council, which consists of seventy two Cardinals, when all are there, which is seldom or never.

These Men hurried this King into all Extravagances, and the highest Invasion of the Rights and Liberties of the People that had ever been attempted. The corrupting of our Mercenary Judges, to the making any thing Law he would have, for taking away the Lives of innocent Men at his Pleasure, and giving him the Dispensing Power: The setting up extrajudicially Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to turn Men out of their Freeholds at their pleasure, as at *Magdalen*-College in *Oxford*: The erecting Popish Schools, Chappels, Convents and Seminaries, all expresly against Law: The Breach of his repeated Promises, and Coronation-Oath: These, I say, were all but Trifles, compared to his Personal Endeavours of overturning our Foundations, in going from

Town

Town to Town, to diſcourage thoſe Magiſtrates that would not engage to ſend ſuch Members to the Parliament (he then intended) as would repeal the Teſt and Penal Laws, and cajole thoſe that would: His turning out the Mayor and beſt of the Aldermen of *York*, and chuſing Papiſts in their room, had not the Commiſſion been defective as to the filling thoſe empty Places; ſo that that City was without a Mayor, till his preſent Majeſty reſtored them to their Rights: As alſo his commiſſionating others, under the Name of Regulators, to reform (as they called it) other Corporations; and all to the end of having the Teſt removed (the only Obſtacle) that the Way might be open for an entire Popiſh Parliament, who would have been ſure, in twelve Months time, to have made new Laws againſt all Diſſenters from Popery, and have perſecuted them for the ſame with Fire and Fagot.

As to the propounding an Equivalent, or a new *Magna Charta* for eſtabliſhing Liberty of Conſcience, which ſhould be unalterable, that was ſo vain and idle, as could not expect Belief or Regard from any, ſave Men of little Wit or Proſpect: for it ever will be, as it ought to be, in the power of ſucceeding Parliaments, to repeal the Acts of former: And therefore, tho the King might promiſe he would not conſent, during his time,

time, to any Alteration, he could not promiſe ſo much for his Succeſſors; and farther, as to himſelf, his Steadineſs to his Engagement herein (after Breach of his Coronation-Oath, and re-iterated Promiſes of ruling according to Law) might well be ſuſpected. Beſides, had he really intended to make good his Promiſe, the Church of *Rome* (which, by his own Principles, is his Superior) would have forbid it: And he that is not ignorant of their murdering Doctrine and Practices, in caſe of Diſobedience, durſt not have diſobeyed for fear of a Doſe, or a Fig. So it is no leſs to be admired that the Papiſts ſhould make ſuch ridiculous Propoſitions to a knowing Proteſtant People, as that there ſhould be found any among them who would give heed to the leaſt thing of this nature coming from their implacable Enemies. There were in a few days two Proclamations of Pardon publiſhed, the latter excepting ſome that had been pardoned by the former, when the Parties being beyond the Sea, could not be guilty of new Tranſgreſſions, not hearing of the one before the other, the diſtance of Time being too little; and, as it is ſaid, one or both was not ſealed, deſignedly neglected by *Jefferys*, that Engine of Cruelty, and Monſter of Impudence. Nay, it is ſaid, that the King,

upon hearing of the Prince of *Orange*'s Expedition for *England*, ordered the Reſtoration of the Fellows of *Magdalen*-College in *Oxford*; and upon the News of his Diſaſter at Sea, gave preſently contrary Order. All which is a clear Demonſtration of his Principles, and how little his Promiſes or Pardons are to be relied upon. For tho ſuch Immoralities were hateful with *Pagan Rome*, where all manner of juggling by Mental Reſervations, Equivocations and Unfaithfulneſs were odious, they are now practiſed by *Chriſtian Rome*, and her Favourites.

The Arts and Tricks his Predeceſſors had made uſe of, for Oppreſſion and Injuſtice (as by *Innuendo's*, &c.) to take away the Lives and Eſtates of honeſt Men, were by his Blood-thirſty Inſtruments illegally improved; as the Deaths of Alderman *Corniſh*, and Mr. *Charles Bateman*, and the barbarous and inhuman Proceedings againſt Dr. *Oates*, do ſufficiently evince; he having been, without Precedent, ſo cruelly and unmercifully uſed, as may charitably be concluded, was intended by that way to have murdered him, becauſe they could not have the leaſt Colour of Law for doing it otherwiſe; and that he out-liv'd the Barbarity of it, he hath reaſon to acknowledg a Miracle of Mercy from God, and for it walk thankfully before him all the days of his Life.

But

But beſides this, this whole Reign was no leſs than Violence and Cruelty, as appears by excepting about one hundred and eighty Perſons by Name out of his Pardon, upon the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Invaſion; and by Qualifications, ſcarce any that were not profeſſed Papiſts, or as bad, were left unqueſtionable; eſpecially if ever they had croſſed the Seas, by that Exception of all Treaſons beyond the Seas. Some of thoſe excepted were Girls at School, from ſeven to ten Years of Age, for giving Ribbons to a few of the Duke's Souldiers; and they with the reſt were, by Order of the King and Council, proſecuted for Rebels, by the King's Envoys Extraordinary with the States-General, upon pretence of their Articles of Peace. To that end, ſuppoſing them all to be fled into their Countries, and the Faith of the Nation being engaged for the truth of it, by the Envoys Averment thereof, the States not thinking it decent to queſtion the Validity of the Accuſation, gave Sentence of Baniſhment, upon pain of Death, againſt the whole Number (ſave two or three that had bought their Pardons, the Children being included) that ſhould come into their Territories: Yet, had all that were in any of the Countries under their Dominions been brought to a Trial, it was but a few which had been with the

Duke of *Monmouth* that could have been found guilty of Rebellion, according to the Proceſs; however, could they by this means have got them all ſent home, they would there, right or wrong, have been murdered, as was Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*. But the Injuſtice of this ought to reflect only upon the King's evil Counſel, for the Violation of the Faith of the Nation with a Foreign State (which ought to be ſacred); and not upon the States for giving Credit to the Information, which, according to the Rules of Nations, ought to have been authentick; and being falſe, it was highly injurious to the States, of which had they known, they might well have complained: But the King, for the Immorality of it, hath received his Reward (tho the reſt eſcape) in a juſt Abdication; and we the Benefit by an happy Exchange for the better. The Lord grant we may not ſin away our Mercies.

After twenty eight Years induſtrious Endeavours to debauch the Nation by wicked, profane and atheiſtical Examples, which prevail more with corrupt Nature than Precepts, this King, who by adding of Papiſts in all Employments, having brought the Judges, Gariſons, Sheriffs and Juſtices of the Peace throughout all the Nation to his Devotion, and got a ſtanding Army of ſix and thirty thouſand Horſe and Foot, every way

way well accommodated, wanting nothing in the Eye of Reaſon, we were left without the leaſt hopes of Recovery, the Help of Man ſeeming to be in vain: but then, when he ſaid in his Heart, All was his own, and none ſhould controul him, it pleaſed God in his Providence, for the Good of his People, to infatuate him, in ſetting up a ſuppoſititious Prince of *Wales*, to diſinherit his own Children, and the Heirs to the Crown; which when nothing elſe in human Proſpect could have done it, this opened the Eyes of all ſober Proteſtants, to the ſeeing his Deſign of leaving us and our Poſterity under Popiſh Idolatry and Thraldom; from whence aroſe an Agreement for forcing him to rule according to Law, as he was by Oath obliged; which cauſing him to abdicate the Government, in running away, and applying himſelf to the great Tyrant of the Earth for Help, gave the People the Opportunity of aſſerting their natural Right, in providing for their own Security, by chuſing King *William* and Queen *Mary* for their rightful and legal Sovereigns; whom the Lord in Mercy bleſs with a long and proſperous Reign over us. And whilſt we give due Honour to the Inſtruments, let us not forget aſcribing the Praiſe and Glory due to Almighty God, as the Author and Principal of our Deliverance, and have

always in a thankful Remembrance this, and all other his saving Providences towards this poor Nation, through several Reigns and Ages.

Whilst the Church of *England* was under Persecution in the Persons of the Bishops, the President of *Magdalen*-College in *Cambridg*, and the President and Fellows of *Magdalen*-College in *Oxford*, they were full of Compassion and Brotherly-Kindness towards Dissenters, and ready to join with them for Redress of Grievances, by the help of the Prince of *Orange*, now King of *England*, &c. but were no sooner free from their Fears of being superceded by Priests and Jesuits; and many of them by the Act of Grace from being deservedly punished for their murdering Practices, and also receiving Encouragement from the Change of the Lieutenancy, and discountenancing the Royal Regiment, then headed by some who stood in need of a Party to render them considerable, that thereby they might blot out the Remembrance of former Crimes; then they forgot former Professions of Moderation, and the Afflictions of their Brethren; and to that degree, that they caballed for increasing their Burdens, and monopolizing all Employments to themselves, by continuing the Sacramental Test, tho to the fatal Detriment of the Kingdom: for had

had not that Bar for truſting Diſſenters been in the way, *Ireland* (in the Opinion of thoſe that beſt knew that Country) might have been reduced with much more Eaſe, to the ſaving moſt of the Blood and Treaſure that hath been ſpent upon it; and I fear the Blood ſo needleſly ſpilt will lie at their Doors that were the Authors of it.

It were the Diſſenters that ſaved *London-Derry*, and in that preſerved *Ireland*: for tho by the Artifice of ſome eminent Conformiſts, the Honour was aſcribed to Mr. *Walker*, and his Party, (for which he got a Reward he did not deſerve) it appears by the Narrative of that Siege, writ by Mr. *Mackenzy*, Chaplain to a Regiment during the Siege, and writ with that Candor and Faithfulneſs as carries its Teſtimony with it, the Applauſe and Reward belonged to the Diſſenters; for even the Anſwer to this Book, in behalf of Mr. *Walker*, doth no way detect, but rather gives it Credit. But Mr. *Walker* being dead, I ſhall forbear all farther Reflections upon him, he having been a good-natur'd Man, and what he did amiſs, being from the Influence of others: He confeſſed there were four Nonconformiſts in the Town for one Conformiſt; and ſome ſay eight for one; but the Authority being in the Church-men, who were timorous, if not worſe, you will

find by Mr. *Mackenzy*'s Relation, that it was the *Mobile*, who were Diſſenters, that ſaved the Place, againſt the Will of the reſt. And I think it may deſervedly be obſerved, that the *London-Diſſenters*, and the good-natur'd Church-men their Friends, have far outvied in Affection to the Government, the bigotted Church-Party, by their free and liberal ſupplying upon all occaſions their Majeſties with Sums of Money, notwithſtanding the fears they are in from the Change of the Lieutenancy.

Now I ſuppoſe I may be cenſured, as being diſcontented for want of Employment, as not being able to qualify my ſelf. To which I anſwer, That thoſe that know me, know I never ſought any Employment; and if I had, I have a Latitude to qualify my ſelf: So that I my truly affirm, that what I here write, proceeds purely from Affection to my Country, and the Cauſe of God.

The Town of *London-Derry* was at laſt relieved, and, as is ſaid, might have been ſix Weeks ſooner, with leſs Difficulty, and the ſaving of four or five thouſand Lives, which in that time died of Famine. After the Relief of it, Col. *Murrey*, and thirteen Troops of Horſe, who had done the greateſt Service in defending of the Town, were reduced, and greatly ſuſpected, for no other reaſon than becauſe Diſſenters, and free from

from Debauchery; tho we may obſerve, that after Relief of that Town, little of moment was done till His Majeſty's happy Arrival, ſave what was done by thoſe called *Inniskilling*-Men, who, tho not all Diſſenters, are much of their Judgment, Friends to them, and joined with them; which one would think might have recommended the reſt of that ſort to Employment in theſe difficult Times. And that it did not, is unaccountable: For if thoſe muſt be imploy'd that in the Opinion of By-ſtanders, who ſee more than Gameſters, have forfeited their Fidelity, and the *Sacramental Teſt*, a Qualification for Ale-houſes (which ſometimes prove Bawdy-houſes) continued as a Bar againſt ſuch as have ſignaliz'd their Sincerity and Integrity, becauſe called *Nonconformiſts*, whilſt Church-men are the ſame, Nonconformity being nothing elſe than practiſing contrary to the Rule eſtabliſhed by Law, whereof the Church-men are guilty in many Particulars, we cannot expect a Bleſſing to attend our Undertakings. And I do affirm, that none can deſire to deprive their Majeſties in this time of War, the uſe of thoſe they call *Diſſenters*, (who having no Abdicated or Romiſh Superiour, cannot have any other Intereſt than their Majeſties) ſave ſuch as are either weak in their Underſtandings, Jacobites in their Affections,

Affections, Papists in their Religion, or ungodly Persecuters in their Natures; from all which the Lord in Mercy deliver this Nation.

I do not aim herein at reflecting upon the Conformists in general; for it must be confest that there are many sober, vertuous and religious Persons of that Judgment, as *London* hath experienced, in being, contrary to what was designed by others, providentially preserved by them, as appears by the Opposition the worthy and then most deserving Lord Mayor, Sir *Thomas Pilkington*, hath met with from those that were *Hectors* for delivering up of Charters, and joining with *Jefferies*, &c. in all Arbitrary and Tyrannical Ways; and for no other Reason that we know, than for his being, next under God and Her Majesty, by his wise Conduct in the Absence of the King, the Preserver of this City and Nation in Peace and Safety: for his Opposers were no sooner delivered by the Act of Grace from fear of Punishment for former Crimes, than they returned with the Dog to his Vomit, and with the Swine to the wallowing in the Mire of their corrupt Principles; insomuch, that I think one may, without breach of Charity, say, That there is none, who are not guilty of great Ignorance, that were for turning out the then Lord Mayor, but such

ſuch as would, if they could, turn out the King alſo.

But I would not be underſtood in this to complain of any ſave the Bigots of the Church, ſuch as will not allow of any to be of their number, who have Charity for thoſe that are not of their Communion, and have not the ſame Latitude in all Immorality, as they have even to the taking away the Lives and Eſtates of Innocent Men that are not of their minds, by falſe Verdicts, when it ſhall be in their Power: and that they may reach their own Members, that exceed them in Vertue and Sobriety, they nickname them with the Name of *Commonwealths-Men*; for ſince they cannot call them Drunkards, Swearers nor Whoremaſters, they will call them ſomething, to render them, as they think, odious to the People. And for theſe Politicks, thoſe of this Age are obliged to *Cromwel*, who when his Succeſſes had begot in him a Reſolution to ſet up for himſelf, looking upon all ſuch as were of ſteady, unbiaſs'd, ſelf-denying Principles, for a thorow Reformation as to Rights and Liberties, to be Enemies to his Deſign, he endeavoured to blaſt their Reputations with the Nicknames of *Levellers*, as at this time ſuch are to the ſame end charged with being *Republicans*: and becauſe two or three of them in thoſe days had

had not ſo much Heat and Zeal for Religion as they had for Liberty and Property, he loaded too many of his Oppoſers with the odious Name of *Atheiſts*, as our Church-Bigots do now by all of vertuous Principles with the Character of being *againſt the Church*; as if all Religion were bound up in the uſe of their empty, illegal and impoſed Ceremonies, which have ever been of great Prejudice, without any Benefit to the Church. But that *Cromwel* may not loſe his due Praiſe, it muſt be confeſs'd that notwithſtanding his unpardonable Ambition, he did ever promote Sobriety, and the Power of Godlineſs in others; whereas the Quarrel of our Church-Bigots to good Men, proceeds meerly from a hatred to Goodneſs, and fear of being by Reformation reſtrained in their Luſts and Immoralities: and this way they miſchievouſly in favour of our Abdicated King, pertinaciouſly perſevere, as knowing they ſhall thereby deprive their Majeſties the uſe of their ſober and uſeful Subjects, who cannot have any other Intereſt than to be faithful to them. And tho they have reaſon to know, that from the Experience the People have had of their Integrity and Uprightneſs, they are not to be cozened by injurious Names; yet from *Machiavel*'s Rule, That by calumniating boldly, ſomething will ſtick, they continue

tinue their Reproach, tho contrary to Senſe or Reaſon. Every Engliſh-Man that is not Knave or Fool, being as much a *Commonwealths-man* as thoſe they mean, who are no more for a Republick, than *Magna Charta* and the Laws make them; wherein they ought not to be thought Offenders; eſpecially Queen *Elizabeth* having uſed the word *Commonwealth* in her Speeches, and that it is the Language of the Law. Nay, ſuch is their impartial Malice, that even the beſt of our Biſhops that are not ſo uncharitable as themſelves, do not eſcape their Cenſures and falſe Reports, as, were it convenient, an Inſtance might be given: and their Spleen hath had this effect, to hinder the moſt uſeful Men from ſerving their King and Country, to the great Damage of both, if it prove not their Deſtruction, in keeping up the way for advancing Folly, Ignorance and Knavery, by a bare reſtraining the choice of Officers to one Party, which, if continued, may hazard the Ruine of this Kingdom. And for preventing the ſame, it were to be wiſhed, that as in a great meaſure the Bigots of the Church have had the Conduct of Affairs this three or four Years, with ill Succeſs; that the moderate Men of all ſides might be tried, whether Affairs will proſper better in their hands: By moderate Men, I mean thoſe of both Opinions,

Opinions, who are free from groſs and open Scandal, who are the Perſons upon whoſe Endeavours we may moſt reaſonably expect a Bleſſing from God; for from the contrary Qualifications it is not to be hoped. And I am fully of Opinion with that good Man, who ſaith, "That Kingdoms and "Commonwealths are not in ſo much dan-"ger from the Power and Policy of their "Enemies without them, as they are from "the unreſtrained Debauchery, and crying "Sins of their People that are within them; "there being no ſuch Traitors to the "Strength of a Land, Underminers and "Weakners thereof, as are unreformed "Provocations. And therefore, till Men of Religious, or (at leaſt) Moral Principles, who ſhall ſerve their King and Country, not from ſelf-ends, but from a true Zeal for Civil as well as Religious Liberty, be imployed, (as ſuch are to be had) it cannot be expected that *England* ſhould proſper: for common Swearers, Drunkards and Whoremaſters, who impudently carry their Whores into the Field, and to Sea, to corrupt (by their ill Examples) the People; nor thoſe for King *William*, as King *de facto* only, will ever do the Work. And the Bigots of the Church cannot with ſo much reaſon call thoſe of their own Communion, Diſſenters, becauſe they have Chriſtian Charity

for

for Non-conformiſts, as they themſelves may be called of the Church of *Rome*, for declaring they had rather be *Papiſts* than *Presbyterians*, as many of them do; when their Difference with the Papiſts is upon Fundamentals, which concerns their Salvation; and with the Presbyterians, by their own Confeſſion, but about things indifferent, which ought not to be impoſed, according to that Scripture, *For it ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt, and to us, to lay upon you no greater Burden than theſe neceſſary things*, Acts 15.28.

In our late Civil Wars, thoſe they then called *Puritans*, adhered to the Parliament: Theſe were divided about Church-Government, ſome for *Presbytery*, and others for *Independency*. The Parliament upon their Faſting-days for imploring a Bleſſing, and Days of Thankſgiving for Mercies received, appointed uſually Miniſters of both Opinions to preach before them: Thoſe for *Presbytery* uſed to preſs the Parliament ſo ſtrenuouſly for their Diſcipline, excluſive of all others, that had that great and wiſe Senate hearkned to them, they had in all probability fallen into Confuſion, and been deſtroy'd by their Enemies: of which Danger Mr. *John Goodwin*, one equal to any in Learning and Miniſterial Abilities, when called to preach before them, was ſo far from following the Example of his Brethren in troubling

troubling them with Church-Politicks, that in his Prayer for the Parliament he had this Expreſſion; *Lord, hadſt not thou made them wiſer than their Teachers, they had been weaker than their Enemies!* And O that Poſterity may not have cauſe to complain that it was an ignorant and ſelfiſh eſpouſing of Church-Bigotry that ruined the three Kingdoms of *England, Scotland* and *Ireland*: for as that Maxim of *divide and rule*, may in times of Peace be ſerviceable to thoſe deſigning Tyranny, it cannot be ſo in times of War, when not only a part, but the Aſſiſtance of the whole is neceſſary. And the *French King*, whilſt *Spain* was a Match for him, kept cloſe to this Rule, indulging his *Proteſtant Subjects* equal to thoſe of the Church of *Rome*; the Importunity of his ambitious and mercileſs Church-men having no Power with him, till thinking himſelf above all Mankind, and fear of any, that he then perſecuted and deſtroyed thoſe of the *Proteſtant* Religion, contrary to Faith, ſeveral Edicts and Declarations for their Security in their Enjoyment of equal Privileges with the *Papiſts*: which Treachery and Ingratitude towards thoſe that had kept the Crown upon his Head, may be a Caution to all Sorts and Degrees to take heed how they truſt him, or any that have Dependance upon him; yet I am ſtrong in Faith, that his

his perfidious Dealings will in the end prove his Deſtruction.

And farther, to enforce this Argument, (which I know will be little regarded by Church-Bigots and Formaliſts) it is to be obſerved, that it was, until the King's Arrival in *Ireland*, thoſe of Religious Principiples there, as alſo in *Scotland* and *Piedmont*, that have done any thing of moment, [and it is not without ſtrong ſuſpicion alſo that thoſe two excellent Gentlemen, Lieut. Col. *Cleland*, and Major *Henderſon*] were deſerted, who to ſave the Life of their Country loſt their own; and that the relieving of *London-Derry* in *Ireland* was delayed, both in deſign to reduce thoſe over-ſober Men, as of too vertuous Examples for thoſe Times. And as to *Savoy*, that Duke, whoſe Family hath from all Antiquity been great Perſecutors, is now come totally off from that Helliſh and Deviliſh Principle, in uſurping the Prerogative of God, who only hath Dominion over the Conſcience, and is willing to receive the Aſſiſtance of his Reformed Subjects without debarring them by a *Sacramental Teſt*, the benefit of which he hath already ſufficiently experienced. And to this may be added the Example of *Spain*, as a warning to all of undepraved Senſe, to avoid Perſecution upon account of Religion: for that Country when under Paga-

niſm, Mahometaniſm, with a mixture of Judaiſm, was populous, rich and flouriſhing, beyond all or moſt Countries, is now under Chriſtianity, by Perſecution, become diſpeopled, beggarly, and of little account, compared to others formerly of no Conſideration to them. And let our Church-Bigots, in oppoſition to Religion and Sobriety, improve to their uttermoſt their Power and Intereſt for doing the Work upon the Wheel by ſuch as themſelves, they will ſtill find, as they in *Scotland*, *Ireland* and *Piedmont* hitherto have done, that God will diſtinguiſh the Serviceableneſs of ſober Men from that of his Enemies, Men of debauched Lives, evil Converſations, and immoral Principles; and nothing but Reformation, and their Majeſties uſe of all their Subjects, upon whoſe Faithfulneſs they may rely, can recover our ancient Glory, and make us again a Terror to our Enemies. And it may be foretold, that our Potent and Tyrannical Neighbour, who by Liberty in Religion firſt raiſed himſelf to that Height he is now arrived at, ſhall by his late contrary Actings, loſe his Grandure, have all his Honour laid in the Duſt, and brought as low as he is now great.

And to ſum up all concerning Church-Bigots, who place Religion in Formalities and Ceremonies, with Perſecution of all of contrary

contrary Opinions to them; we may obſerve that this ſort of Men (without attaining their Ends) have in all Ages and Nations been the Peſt of Mankind, occaſioning great Bloodſhed and Cruelty in all Countries, but eſpecially in Chriſtendom: for the preventing of which for the future in this Kingdom, it is to be wiſhed that our Eccleſiaſticks, whoſe Talents for Civil Goverment is very ſeldom commendable, were by Law confin'd to their proper Province, the Interpretation of the Scripture as to Practical Divinity, and leave the Conſtruction of our Civil Law to them to whom it belongs in the Intervals of Parliaments, (*viz.*) the Judges of the Land, who are ſworn to the diſcharge of their Duty therein; whereas bigotted Church-men, being looſe and at liberty, are very partial in their Gloſſes, perverting the meaning thereof to their ſeparate Intereſt, tho tending to the Prejudice of the Nation.

I think no ſober Perſon but will, after peruſal hereof, own our two laſt Reigns to have been cruel, unjuſt, and oppreſſive to the higheſt degree; and that ſuch Guilt could not be contracted by our Kings, without Inſtruments imploy'd by them, who by Law are anſwerable for Miſcarriages in Government. And as Oppreſſion is a crying Sin, that pulls down God's Judgments

upon a People, if not repented and reformed; ſo there is a Duty incumbent upon us, to anſwer the Rebukes we have lately met with from God in our Affairs, by a ſpeedy and thorow Reformation, not deferring it till times of Peace; the want of Reformation being generally the occaſion of War. And God ſeems to call for it by the little uſe he hath made of our Immoraliſts, either at Sea or Land, other than as a Scourge for our Sins. His Majeſty hath a great Reputation to be a profeſſed Enemy to Swearing, Drinking, Cheating, *&c.* And if thoſe, whoſe Calling makes it their Duty to promote Reformation, be the Obſtructers of it, Flattery, which never proceeds from a ſincere Heart, will not defend them againſt the Almighty; to whom I leave them, with putting them in mind, that an Inſtance might be given of a late Army commanded by old experienced Officers, never accuſed of want of Bravery; yet the Majority being of lewd Principles as to Religion, and of looſe Diſcipline as to Sobriety, never proſpered other than by retail, enough only to keep them alive: ſo that it was to a Miracle, beyond the Eye of Reaſon, that the low and deſperate Condition they and their Superiours were reduced to, did not cauſe them to lay down the Cudgels, ſeparate and run away; for nothing but an inviſible

Power

Power could have ſpirited them to ſtand out againſt the mighty External Force of their Enemies; inſomuch that their Steadineſs cannot be aſcribed to any thing leſs than an over-ruling Hand of Providence, the Lord not ſuffering them for his own Name-ſake to fall to the Ground, tho he exerciſed them with great Diſappointments and croſs Providences, as a means to bring them to a ſight of their Sins, and a neceſſity of Reformation, which was at firſt oppoſed by many as unſeaſonable. But at laſt ſetting aſide that hackny Excuſe, ordinarily made uſe of by ill Men for keeping off that which is againſt their Deſigns, it was by thoſe guided by Vertue and Integrity, at laſt undertaken in a time when little hopes of recovering a loſt Cauſe was left; but the Change a Reformation made, was ſo great in an Army, which before was a Nurſery of Vice and Debauchery, that it became a School of Vertue and Sobriety; and tho compoſed in a great part of ſuch young, raw, new-bred Military Men, that they were at their beginning the Scorn and Deriſion of all veteran Souldiers; yet God, as pleaſed with Reformation, did ſo remarkably bleſs them with Succeſs, that after they took the Field under that ex-excellent Commander, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* in 1645, they never received the leaſt De-

feat, but went on even to a Miracle, conquering, till they totally reduc'd their Enemies in leſs than two Years, notwithſtanding they had for Adverſaries an Army fleſh'd with Victory, commanded by Officers as much celebrated for Valour and Military Art as that Age afforded. And the truth of this great and virtuous Effect of Reformation is known to all obſerving Men that liv'd in thoſe days, and may be found by thoſe born ſince, in the uncontradicted Hiſtory of that War, called the *Hiſtory of Sir* Thomas Fairfax, writ by Mr. *Sprig*; as alſo will in *Ruſhworth*'s *Collections*, when his laſt Volume comes out, to the juſt Reproof, if not Conviction of the Enemies to Reformation. And to illuſtrate this, I could name a Colonel yet living, who in this War had 36 in his ſingle Troop, that each of them could pray without a Book, and after that diſcourſe upon a Text of Scripture to the Edification of his Hearers, the reſt of the Troop being free from any known Vice, as Swearing, Whoring, Exceſs in Drinking, *&c.* for when any were detected of ſuch Crimes, they were preſently caſhier'd. This I preſume will be laugh'd at by our profane Bigots, but will not be ſo by any fearing God: for *Moſes*, when complained unto of ſuch, wiſhed *that all God's People were Prophets.*

But

But the like hereunto is not to be expected, till it ſhall pleaſe God to inſpirit the Nation for a general Reformation of Manners, beginning firſt with the Univerſities, which is ſaid to ſtand in need of a ſtrong Purge; becauſe from thence moſt of our Gentry imbibe their Principles, and where it is dreadful (if true as ſome report) that they are the leſs ſtrictly look'd to, to prevent in them Inclinations to *Presbytery*; telling them it is better to be *Papiſts* than *Presbyterians*, though the firſt differ in Doctrine which concerns their Salvation, and the other only in unſcriptural, as well as (many of them) illegal Ceremonies.

Secondly, In the *Eccleſiaſtical Viſitations*, and Care in the admitting none into the Miniſtry but upon ſignal Teſtimony of Sobriety and Miniſterial Abilities, not ſuffering the Fees for Inſtitution and Induction to have any Influence therein; that by the Exemplary Lives and Converſations of the Miniſters of the Goſpel, the People may be as well inſtructed as from their Pulpits; Example very often prevailing more with corrupt Nature than Precept, eſpecially (as is the Saying of a good Man) that Military Strength will not make a Nation ſo dreadful to an Enemy, as an able Godly Miniſtry will do.

I remember I heard many Years ago (in the time of Biſhop *Laud*'s Perſecution, before our late Civil Wars) famous Dr. *Stauton* in a Sermon, reproving the then reigning Profaneneſs, as portending a Judgment impending, (wherein he was a Prophet) *Tell that Party*, (I mean the bigotted Formaliſts) *that tho they may pleaſe themſelves in ſcoffing at ſerious Religion, and the Gift of Prayer, they had better have all the Bears in the Bear-garden againſt them, than the Prayers of God's People.* This, I ſuppoſe, may be cenſured by our profane Party as an homely Expreſſion; but tho I may be ſhort in rendring his Words as to the Energy of them, the Learning, Piety and Elegancy of this great Doctor, do ſo eminently appear in his Works, and muſt ſtill be remembred in the Univerſities, that none can think that any thing either ill expreſſed or otherwiſe could fall from him.

Beſides, there is no way like this of Reformation for bringing the Non-conformiſts to the publick Churches, and prevent the ſtumbling any more in the Night upon Eccleſiaſticks in their Habits lying drunk in the Streets, and meet them ſtaggering from one ſide to the other, as we ſometimes do, and often hear of their Debauchery, and giving the bad Example of drinking Healths, which may be reckoned ſo much the occaſion

ſion of Drunkenneſs; from whence many times proceed Quarrels, Murders and Adulteries, that it's a hundred to one of every Perſon that is ſeen drunk in the Streets, that he comes from drinking of Healths, which the Apoſtle conſequently forbids in exhorting to *avoid all occaſions of Evil.*

I would not be underſtood by any thing here ſaid, to reflect upon our Eccleſiaſticks in general; for I confeſs there are of them very pious, moderate and worthy Perſons, deſerving all Reverence and Reſpect, but am ſorry they are diſparaged by too many not worthy of their Function.

Thirdly, In taking Care of not diſpenſing Commiſſions of the Peace to ſuch as are themſelves notoriouſly guilty of the Crimes they ought to puniſh in others, as Swearing, Drinking, Sabbath-breaking, *&c.* the reforming of which we may now have hopes of, from the Vertue of our new *Lord Keeper.* And when it ſhall pleaſe God to put it into the Hearts of thoſe in Authority to reform theſe three Fountains, from whence proceeds the Profaneneſs, Blaſphemy, and Atheiſm that over-ſpreads the Land, we may hope for the fore-mentioned Bleſſings, but till then deſpair of them; eſpecially, if from the ſiniſter Deſigns of ill Men, Debauchery be countenanced and incouraged, by promoting and imploying ſuch as are notori-

notoriouſly known to be the worſt of Men, and guilty in Life and Converſation of the greateſt Immoralities: for in ſuch caſe we cannot expect any Benefit by their Majeſties pious Proclamations for Reformation of Manners, Example (as is before-mentioned) prevailing more with corrupt Nature than Precept.

The way to appeaſe God's Wrath, is to enquire after Men of debauched Lives, and avoid them; after the Authors and Abettors of our former Grievances; cauſe Reſtitution to be made to Sufferers, by thoſe that did the Wrong; and to diſable for the future all Offenders therein from bearing any Office either in Church or State, in whom doth not appear a true Change in Practice, and eſpouſing honeſt Principles, to the end they may have no more opportunity for acting their Miſchiefs over again. For *the Wicked walk on every ſide, when the vileſt Men are exalted.* Pſal. 12. 8.

The Lord ſeems to have done his part in puniſhing the Principal, leaving the Inſtruments to us; for it may be reaſonably thought, that had it not been for evil Counſellors, our Kings could not alone have projected or endeavoured the Ruin of our Nation by introducing *Popery* and *Slavery*, as was without contradiction intended.

By

By what goes before, together with what may be farther obſerved, it will appear, that the Preſervation of our Rights and Liberties hath to a Miracle been ſolely from the Providence of God, *viz.*

1. That the late King *James* in favour of Popery, ſhould ſet up a ſuppoſititious Prince of *Wales*, to diſinherit his own Children, and all the Heirs of the Crown; whereby he alienated the Hearts of the People, when nothing leſs could have done it, was a great Providence.

2. The King (when Prince of *Orange*) his Diſaſter at Sea upon his firſt ſetting ſail, cauſing the late King *James*'s recalling his Order for reſtoring the Fellows of *Magdalen*-College in *Oxford*, was a Providence, in that he thereby convinced the People, that there was no relying upon his Promiſes, which before they were ready to do.

3. That when the Prince was deſigned for the North, he ſhould change his Courſe for the Weſt, where the Wind and Weather was miraculouſly ſerviceable to him, was a ſaving Providence.

4. That the late King *James*'s Naval Fleet, which might with eaſe have deſtroyed the Fly-Boats which tranſported the Prince's Army, and did not do it, was a ſignal Providence.

5. That

5. That the late King *James* deſerted his Army at *Saliſbury*, when half of it was more than ſufficient to have fought the Prince, was a Providence not to be forgot.

6. That the late King *James* abdicated the Government, when otherwiſe we muſt have been all in Blood, ſome of the chief of the City ſhewing ſo much Fondneſs of him, that with ſpeed they, with Tears for Joy, congratulated his Return after his firſt leaving of the Town, was a Mercy.

7. That *London-Derry*, a little inſignificant Place, without regular Fortifications, ſhould with ſo much Miſery and Hardſhip defend themſelves; and in that preſerve *Ireland* againſt the late King, who was ſaid to have 60000 Men in Arms, and to loſe 8000 before it; and this done by the *Mobile*, headed by ſome honeſt Officers againſt the good Will of thoſe in Authority; was a Providence which in after-Ages will hardly be believed.

8. That the *French* had ſurpriſed us whilſt at Anchor, had not the Wind providentially turned to our Preſervation, was a Mercy that ought not to be forgot.

9. That the *French* ſhould not underſtand the Advantage *Torrington* gave them at Sea, in retreating before them; and that they ſhould neglect the opportunity of intercepting at the Mouth of the Channel our ſeveral Fleets of Merchants

Merchants Ships, then expected from ſeveral Parts of the World, and no care taken by us for their Preſervation; was an unexpreſſible Providence. For if thoſe Fleets had miſcarried, the trading Party of the Nation had in a great meaſure been ruined: So that upon the whole, we may ſay, we have been preſerved by the Providence of God, notwithſtanding our great Negligence. But this miraculous Deliverance gives us no Warrant to rely upon Miracles for our Preſervation, but is a Caution to us for the future, to be more careful in the choice of the Officers we intruſt.

To the foregoing nine, may be added as a tenth Providence, and crowning Mercy, the Lord's preſerving us againſt the laſt Year's intended Invaſion of the *French*, headed by our Abdicated King, at a time when all was ſo prepared, that that Party amongſt us hath not yet loſt their Confidence: and then when neither the Wiſdom or Hand of Man was for our Preſervation, God appeared in the Mount, delivering us by his immediate Power, in commanding the Wind and Weather to deliver us out of the Jaws of Death; a Mercy never to be forgotten, but with Humility to be always had moſt particularly in thankful Remembrance; Thankfulneſs being a Grace that God is much pleaſed with. And from theſe

wonder-

wonderful Workings of the Lord for us, we may gather great hopes, that however he may exerciſe us with Straits and Difficulties, he will not give us up into the Hands of thoſe whoſe Mercies are Cruelties.

And as theſe ten ſaving Providences may ſerve to ſtrengthen our Faith, in believing that our good God hath given them us as ſo many Aſſurances of his Care of us, and that he will not for his own Name-ſake deliver us into the Hands of his and our Enemies: ſo likewiſe, as with reaſon our Ships have been always called the Walls of our Nation, and reckoned our indiſpenſible Intereſt never to ſuffer any to vie with us in Naval Strength; ſo we ought to look upon the croſs Providences we have met with in neglecting four Opportunities of deſtroying the *French* at Sea, to be from God for our Sins, as a means to bring us to a ſight of them, and Humiliation for them, and a Reformation of that Debauchery, Profaneneſs and Atheiſm, which over-ſpreads the Nation, as the *Achans* which trouble our *Iſrael.*

As firſt, The neglect of the Opportunity in 1690, of deſtroying the *Toulon*-Fleet in the *Straits.*

2. The neglect of the Opportunity in the ſame Year of deſtroying the main Fleet of the *French* in our Channel, when we, like degene-

degenerate Engliſh-men, fled before them, tho we had then ſo far the advantage, that tho they did a little out-number us, we out-tunn'd them, out-gu n'd them, and out-mann'd them, beſides being upon our own Coaſt.

3. In not proſecuting that glorious Victory obtained by Admiral *Ruſſel*, 1692; who becauſe he had not Satisfaction for the Obſtruction he met with therein, laid down (as is ſaid) his Command, as not thinking it ſafe to truſt himſelf any more in the Hands of thoſe that then had the Direction.

4. In the neglect of the Opportunity in 1693, of deſtroying the *French* Fleet at Sea, had our Fleet ſought them, as they might have done. And having now loſt theſe Opportunities, whether we ſhall ever have the like again, the Lord only knows, but 'tis to be fear'd never ſhall in our days.

And to preſs further a Care in the Choice of our Officers of Truſt. Our Church-Bigots, or pretended Statiſts, cannot deny that *London-Derry* ſaved *Ireland*; the ſame ſort of People *Scotland*; and that Primitive Chriſtianity in the Perſons of the *Waldenſes* hath hitherto preſerv'd the Duke of *Savoy*: a Truth writ ſo viſibly by the Finger of God, as may be ſaid to be done by an extraordinary Providence, to convince this unbelieving Age of their ſottiſh Error in

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undervaluing Sobriety, notwithſtanding his ſignalizing the Undertakings of ſuch, and blaſting thoſe of his Enemies, Swearers, Drunkards, *&c.* It would have pleaſed me better to have had this Obſervation made by ſome other, but rather than God ſhould not have the Honour and Glory of his Grace and Goodneſs to thoſe that love and fear him, I have thought it my Duty to remember our great Deliverances with Thankfulneſs to his Praiſe.

Courtiers and Favourites have always endeavoured by themſelves and Friends to excuſe their Miſcarriages, by making the Complaints againſt them to proceed only from Envy and not Juſtice: but we do not find Parliaments miſtaken formerly in their Impeachments againſt evil Counſellors, but that they have ever been rather too backward than too forward therein. And indeed, conſidering the Conſtitution of the Parliament, and their Method of Proceedings, they may be reckoned as infallible in Matter of Fact, as Mankind is capable of; for no Criminals but may be ſuppoſed to have ſome particular Friend in that numerous Aſſembly to make Objections on their behalf, and nothing of this kind paſſing the Houſe without a ſerious and long Debate, and coming at laſt to a Deciſion by Majority of Votes, they can hardly err in Matters of Fact.

Fact. And we find the Counſellors of good Queen *Elizabeth* to have been free from all Complaints in Parliament; and I think it may be relied upon, that the Commons will never complain of any who ſeek not themſelves, (as her Counſellors did not) but the Good and true Intereſt of King and Country: but ſuch as Soveraigns were, ſuch will their Counſellors be; *Saul*'s were wicked, and *David*'s vertuous: for bad Kings will make choice of ſuch as themſelves; and none but thoſe of depraved Principles will court their Service.

As the way for Kings to gain Love and Honour, and be in Safety, is to make the Law their Rule, and not, as the two laſt Kings without Regard to their Coronation-Oath, ſetting all Law aſide, and acting Arbitrarily, as in their pricking of Sheriffs for the Counties, not out of thoſe preſented to them, as the Law directs, but taking them at large, as they pleaſe, or corrupt Intereſt directs. For to govern well, is a Security beyond Arms, Oaths, or all the Tricks of ill Men and Favourites; ſo it is the Intereſt of Favourites, tho they ſeldom believe it, to make publick Intereſt equal (if not ſuperior) to their own private; for we do not find the Families raiſed formerly by evil Counſel given to their Princes, to have been of long continuance.

Our Diviſions at preſent are deplorable, and far be it from me to deſire the widening of them; but they may be ſaid to ariſe from Selfiſhneſs in the Clergy, and ſome Criminals, who joined with them, to make a Party for their own particular Intereſt and Preſervation, againſt the true Intereſt and Senſe of vertuous and honeſt Men: ſo that in this diſtracted Condition we are divided into thoſe for the Preſent King, and thoſe for the Abdicated King; theſe latter being irreconcileable to all that are not of their Opinion, and the former ſubdivided into thoſe that are profeſſedly for King *William* as King *de Jure*, and thoſe for him only as King *de Facto*; whereby the latter making the King no better than an Uſurper, muſt themſelves be little leſs than *Jacobites*, whoſe Actings give us cauſe to have ſad Thoughts of Heart, in ſeeing ſome of the late Kings Proceedings put in Practice with Improvement.

I do not remember any in former Reigns taken up and impriſoned, without pretended Proof of ſome Crime againſt them, or at leaſt of pretended great Suſpicion; but of late we had Perſons freeſt from Suſpicion firſt ſeized, and then their Studies and Writings ſearched, to get matter to juſtify the Seizure; which leaves all Men unſafe, as well in reference to their Eſtates (from the danger

danger their Writings are thereby in) as in reference to their Liberty. And herein they ſhewed their Spleen againſt ſuch as are for the preſent King, as King *de Jure*; for of any other Crime, one lately impriſoned could not be ſuſpected, having expreſſed himſelf ſufficiently in Print againſt a Commonwealth, a Notion out of hatred to Liberty (our natural Right) lately ſtarted, to render all thoſe obnoxious that are for common Freedom. Our ancient Government according to Law, knowing that in a corrupt and factious Age, the honeſteſt things may be blaſted by miſapplying of Names, as in calling Evil Good, and Good Evil, Diſloyalty Loyalty, and Loyalty Diſloyalty, *&c.* And this whilſt *de Facto*-Men can hardly (in ſome Mens Opinion) offend in any thing they do or ſay. But his Majeſty having had ſeveral miraculous Deliverances, in *Ireland*, at Sea, and lately in *Flanders*, we hope that Men ſincerely honeſt, real and faithful to him without Reſerve, in reference to any Pretender, will be as well in Security, as Enemies, or thoſe that are no farther for his Intereſt, than may render them meritorious, ſhould the Abdicated King return, from which good Lord deliver us, and from all ſuch whoſe Deſign is to juſtify the two laſt Reigns, by diſowning any Fault in them (ſave the en-

deavour of introducing Popery, of which they make the King ſolely guilty) that by his Inſtruments and ſuch like, they may the more plauſibly play the ſame Game over again, if not by corrupt Judges, againſt which we are ſecured during the Lives of thoſe now in place, yet they may by ſuborned Witneſſes, depraved Advocates, and pack'd Juries endeavour a *ſham Proteſtant Plot*, as they have formerly done, for deſtroying all that ſhall ſtand in the way of returning us to our late Egyptian Bondage, of which they are very fond.

As there is no Perfection in this World, ſo there is nothing good, but as it is compared with worſe. The Reign of good Queen *Elizabeth*, who was a true Lover of her People and Country, may perhaps be liable to ſome Exceptions; but being a Reign of glorious Actions, of impartial Juſtice, not murdering and otherwiſe undoing innocent Men by corrupt Juries, Judges and ſuborned Witneſſes, and ſo free from Tricks for plundering the Subjects Purſes to ſpend viciouſly and profuſely to make a Party for Arbitrary Government, that when Money hath been given her for certain Occaſions, the Cauſe being taken away, ſhe returned the Money to her Subjects: this Reign, I ſay, compared to the four ſucceeding Reigns, chargeable with all

that

that is contrary to these Excellencies, may comparatively be reckoned perfect.

The Counsellors and Favourites of this great Queen may have had some Errors in Politicks, tho unknown to me; yet having made the end of all their Counsels, the Honour, Prosperity, Safety and joint Interest of the Queen and Country without separating them; I say, those Counsellors and Favourites compared with those of the four last Reigns, whose Counsels and Actions have been diametrically opposite to theirs, may comparatively be said to have been unblamable.

Tho the Church in that Queen's Time never wanted some of persecuting Spirits, yet those being over-ballanced by the Piety and Zeal of some of the then Guides of the Church, not encouraging the Profanation of the Lord's-Day, nor discouraging Preaching twice upon that Day, nor yet putting down Weekly or Monthly Lectures. Tho that Reign may be said not to have been totally free from profligate and ill People; the Generality was sober and vertuous, compared to the succeeding Reigns, especially the two last, so over-run with Debauchery and all manner of Profaneness. But upon the whole, we have been an unhappy People ever since the Days of that never-to-be-forgotten good Queen, if some

Years were not to be excepted, the Deſigns of our four laſt ill Reigns have been ſo diametrically oppoſite to the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation, as the Hiſtory thereof muſt render them and their Counſels odious to Poſterity.

When the Houſe of *Auſtria* was rampant for the Univerſal Monarchy, bidding fair for it, our Court join'd with them in being of the Spaniſh Faction, as they that remember thoſe Times muſt confeſs: for tho the Example and Method left us for the Aſſiſtance of the united *Netherlands*, to which the People were generally affected, could not be totally laid aſide, our Help, contrary to our Intereſt, became then faint and heartleſs.

After the Crown of *Spain* (the chief Power of the *Auſtrian* Family) was by the long weak Reign of *Philip* the IVth brought low, and the dangerous Deſign of that mighty Houſe was ſuppreſſed, then *Cromwel*, from want of Experience in Foreign Affairs, caſt the Ballance betwixt *Spain* and *France* on the *French* ſide; yet not maliciouſly, but preſuming that the then Greatneſs of our Nation, would upon all occaſions have been able to curb and check the growing Greatneſs of our mightieſt Neighbours, as had we remained under a good Adminiſtration we had certainly been: but as ill Government,

ment, with Fraud and Cozenage in all Officers, has brought the Crown of *Spain* under, ſo the ſame hath been the unhappy Lot of our Nation; theſe two Inſtances being a full Demonſtration, that all Countries will be proſperous or miſerable according as their Government is good or bad.

Charles the Second came no ſooner to the Crown than he ſold *Dunkirk* to the *French*; and as a farther ſtep to advance them, ruin'd the Proteſtant Intereſt, and in that the Intereſt of his own Native Country; he cauſeleſly, as well as ungratefully, quarrelled with the *United Netherlands*; and when thrô Providence he came badly off in that Undertaking, he moſt miſchievouſly eſpouſed the *French* Intereſt againſt that of his own Kingdoms, ſtudying all the ways imaginable the greatning of them, and leſſening of us: and the ſame Deſign being followed by his Succeſſor, we were brought to that deſperate Condition our preſent King found us in, and reſtored us to what we now are.

And now being freed from the Grievances of the four laſt Reigns, it might be expected that all ſhould hate the remembrance of thoſe Times, and never more hanker after the like; the doing of which cannot proceed from any thing leſs than in ſome a depraved, ſlaviſh Nature, delighting

in the Barbarity of the Eaſtern Countries: In ſome well-meaning honeſt Men, from Ignorance, not underſtanding their true Intereſt; in others, from a hatred to common Freedom, being content to be tyrannized over by their Superiors, ſo they may but do the ſame over their Inferiors: And in others, who, tho they underſtand the true Intereſt of the Nation, yet from preferring an opportunity of cozening, cheating and advancing themſelves to Honours and Dignities to all other Conſiderations whatever. And from hence, together with Selfiſhneſs and want of Integrity in ſome profeſſing Honeſty, thereby deceiving the weak and credulous, whilſt they purſue their own Intereſt without regard to the Publick, proceeds the Miſery of Mankind.

I take no pleaſure in remembring the Vices and Enormities of our Country, but am greatly troubled to hear of the horrid Debauchery that is amongſt us; and to obſerve, how this Nation is degenerated from a Land formerly famous for Piety, to that of all manner of Profaneneſs, againſt which I have thought it my Duty thus to bear my Teſtimony.

If what hath been already obſerved of the Lord's diſtinguiſhing the Serviceableneſs of ſober Men from that of Swearers, Drunkards, &c. be not enough to convince our

our bigotted Church-men of their Folly, in not being ſatisfied without having the weightieſt Affairs intruſted with ſuch, if they would but call to mind that the Hand of God was ſo remarkably againſt us whilſt ſuch were imployed, who carried Whores with them both to Sea and Land, that we never proſpered in either Station, and that ſince they have been removed, God hath ſo remarkably bleſſed us both at Sea and in *Ireland* ever ſince, when the Help of Man ſeemed to be in vain; as if he would thereby tell his Enemies, that tho they would not ſee, he would make them ſee, and be aſhamed of their Envy and Malice againſt all Sobriety; they cannot ſtill remain pertinacious in their Opinions, without being, as may be charitably thought, under a judicial Blindneſs: not but that I think it is to be lamented, that too many, not deſerving very good Characters, are ſtill made uſe of; but as the greater in Authority the Perſons of ſuch are, the more miſchievous is their vicious Example, ſo the Lord is thereby the more provoked to retard our Deliverance; and tho for his own Name-ſake, he will not ſuffer his Cauſe totally to fall, yet the leſs our Reformation is, the ſlower will be his Mercies to us, as a means to bring at laſt thoſe that fear him, to a ſight of their Sins, and a Humiliation for them.

An

An Introduction to the Affidavits and Informations following.

IF any Doubt be made (notwithſtanding what is before mentioned) of the horrid Iniquity and Miſcarriage of the two laſt Reigns, whoever will but ſeriouſly read and conſider the following *Affidavits*, with the *Informations*, cannot but be convinced that the like Practices for murdering by Perjury and form of Law, hath not before been known in *England*, or any other Chriſtian Country; where Judges, Juries, Witneſſes, and Counſel, all ſtrove who ſhould moſt ſignalize their Services for the King, by wreſting of Law, for taking away the Lives of innocent Perſons; the Memory of which is to be wiſhed may, to their perpetual Infamy, and as a warning to others, never be forgotten.

The

The Information of Tho. Samſon, *Gent. taken upon Oath before Sir* Thomas Alleyn, *Kt. and Bar. one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for the City of* London, *this* 24th *Day of* November, 1681, *at Seven of the Clock in the Morning.*

Who ſaith,

THat *John Mac-Namarra* told this Deponent, That *Edward Ivy* and *Bryan Haynes* agreed together in *April* laſt, to ſwear Treaſon againſt the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; and the Bill being found againſt the ſaid Earl, that they, with *John Smith* and *Turberfield*, did intend to ſwear Treaſon againſt Sir *Patient Ward*, Sir *Robert Clayton*, Sir *Thomas Player*, Sheriff *Bethel*, Col. *Mildmay*, and all others as ſhould come in as Witneſſes againſt their Deſigns, or in the behalf of the above-ſaid Gentlemen. The Treaſon which they deſigned to ſwear againſt the ſaid Earl, was, "That the Earl "ſhould ſay, that our King deſerved to "be dethroned more than *Richard* II. "and that the ſaid Earl would dethrone "the King, and make *England* a Common-"wealth.

This

This Deponent further ſaith, That the ſaid *Mac-Namarra* told this Deponent the 28*th* of *July* laſt, that *Edward Ivy* had often Conference with Mrs. *Cellier*, and the Popiſh Prieſts in *Newgate*, and had received Money to ſham the Popiſh Plot, and to ſwear to a Proteſtant one.

This Deponent further ſaith, That the ſaid *Mac-Namarra*, two days before he went to *Oxford* to *Colledge*'s Trial, told this Deponent, that he knew the Deſign againſt the Proteſtants, and that he would ſay ſomething againſt them to pleaſe Juſtice *Walcop*, to get ſome Money: But he ſaid, *God damn him* if he knew of any Treaſon by any Proteſtants, or knew of any Plot but the Popiſh Plot, or if he would ever ſwear to any ſuch thing: And at the ſaid *Mac-Namarra*'s Return from *Oxford*, he ſwore the ſame to this Deponent in the preſence of others.

This Deponent further ſaith, That the ſaid *Mac-Namarra* told this Deponent, that he, the ſaid *Mac-Namarra*, had been often with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, with *Haynes* and *Ivy*; but this Deponent telling him that the ſaid Earl never diſcourſed any alone, the ſaid *Mac-Namarra* told this Deponent, that the occaſion of their ſpeaking with him was, for that they diſcovered to him, the ſaid Earl, ſome Perſons that intended

tended to murder him; *Mac-Namarra* ſaying, that himſelf and *Ivy* took Diſtaſte for that the Earl would not diſcourſe them alone; in-as-much as *Ivy* therefore contrived to ſwear High-Treaſon againſt the ſaid Earl.

This Deponent farther ſaith, That Mr. *Turberfield* told this Deponent, at the Sign of the *Cock* by the *Pall-Mall*, two or three days before *Colledge*'s Trial, of this Deſign againſt Proteſtants; but, with ſolemn Proteſtations, ſwore that he knew nothing of any Treaſons againſt the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Lord *Howard*, or any Proteſtants; only of *Colledge*'s idle words, and of *Rowſe*'s keeping the Charity of the City from the Evidences.

This Deponent farther ſaith, That on the 23*d* of *September* laſt, *John Smith*, *Stephen Dugdale* and *Turberfield* ſent for the Deponent to the Three-Tun Tavern in *Hungerford*-Market, and there drinking, the ſaid *Smith* began the Duke of *York*'s Health: He ſwore, *God damn him*, he drank his Health becauſe he was a Papiſt, and therefore he loved him.

This Deponent farther ſaith, That the Money which was gathered in the City for the Maintenance of the Evidence, was gathered on their Petition to the Common-Hall, and by the Evidences ſpecial Inſtance

to

to the Lord *Shaftsbury*, and others, to interceed for them to the City, it being directed to the City by the Houſe of Commons, to take care of them until the Parliament ſate again, and procured a Maintenance for them.

This Deponent farther ſaith, That the Anſwer which *John Mac-Namarra* made on Oath to the Grand-Jury at *Rowſe*'s Trial, *viz.* being queſtioned how he was maintained? anſwered, that he then rented 100 *l. per Annum* in *Ireland*, was falſe.

And *Edward Ivy* at the ſame time ſaying on his Oath, that he came not over to *England* to diſcover the Popiſh Plot, was alſo falſe; for that he had 20 *l.* allowed him by the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* for the ſame. And whereas the ſaid *Ivy* then ſwore, That what Information he made, touching the Popiſh Plot, was directed to him by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and that a Reward for the ſwearing of it was promiſed by *Rowſe*, was alſo falſe; for that this Deponent ſaw the Information in the ſaid *Ivy*'s Hands before he knew, as he ſaid, the ſaid Earl, or *Rowſe*, and the day after he came to Town.

This Deponent farther ſaith, That himſelf, with others, have heard *Dennis Mac-Namarra* ſay, that he would ſwear any thing that his Brother *John* would have him to ſwear.

And

And this Deponent farther ſaith, That the Earl of *Shaftsbury* adviſed this Deponent, *Mac-Namarra* and *Ivy*, not to go to *Oxford*, until the Parliament ſent for them to give their Evidence touching the Popiſh Plot; and, on our Requeſt, the ſaid Earl promiſed that he would move for Money to bear our Charges thither, and to ſupply our great Neceſſities.

This Deponent farther ſaith, That Juſtice *Walcop* often ſollicited him, with Promiſes of Reward, to be an Evidence againſt the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and others of the City; and that *John Mac-Namarra* told this Deponent, that the ſaid Juſtice *Walcop* did the ſame with him.

This Deponent farther ſaith, That he hath not, to his Knowledg, received any Money of the City, or borrowed any to the value of five Pounds, ſince the Parliament at *Oxford*, or had any Reward for making this Affidavit; but hath done it to ſatisfy his Conſcience, and to prevent any that ſhould ſwear falſly againſt himſelf, or others: And farther ſaith, that he is no Petitioner to the City. To all which this Deponent ſwears particularly, the preciſe Days only excepted.

Tho. Samſon.

The

The Information of William Shewen, jun. *of the Pariſh of St.* Mary Magdalen Bermondſey, *in the County of* Surrey, *aged Twenty Years, or thereabouts, as followeth.*

THis Informant maketh Oath, That on *Thurſday*, the 9*th* Day of this Inſtant Month of *Auguſt*, 1681, he being accidentally in the Company of Mr. *John Mac-Namarra*, Mr. *Peacock* (whom they called Alderman of *Durham*) and Mrs. *Tereſia Peacock* his Daughter, (who was *Fitz-Harris*'s Maid) Mr. *Everard*, Mr. *Moubrey*, and others, at *Godfrey*'s Muſick-houſe, in *Lamb's-Conduit-Fields*, in the County of *Middleſex*; and they occaſionally falling into Diſcourſe concerning Mr. *Mac-Namarra*'s marrying Mrs. *Peacock*, the aforeſaid *Mac-Namarra* told this Informant, that his Reaſon for marrying her was, that he might get a new Race of Evidences againſt the old ſhould fail.

And this Informant farther ſaith, That the aforeſaid Perſons then diſcourſing together concerning Mrs. *Peacock*'s Marriage-Portion, Mr. *Peacock*, Father to the ſaid *Tereſia Peacock*, clapping her on the Back, ſaid, *Girl, I am the chiefeſt Evidence, and thou the ſecond*;

ſecond; and there will be 100 l. *apiece for us to ſwear home at* Oxford (having been diſcourſing before concerning *Colledge*) *and thou ſhalt have them both, and I will ſettle* 100 l. *a Year more on thee.* To which Mr. *Mac-Namarra*, Mr. *Roger Godfrey*, and Mr. *William Godfrey* (upon this Informant's asking them, Mr. *Peacock* was a Man of an Eſtate) anſwered, that he rather ſtay'd in Town to get part of his Daughter's Money, than to give her any thing.

And this Informant farther ſaith, That Mr. *Turberfield* and Mr. *Mac-Namarra* then told this Informant, that they had Penſions, as well as *Oates*, and ſaid, that was no ſign of ſmall Reſpect to their Evidence; and that they received them at Sir *Lioline Jenkins*'s Houſe. And this Informant farther ſaith, that he had ſeveral times ſeen them go into the Secretary's Houſe, and once ſaw *Haynes* coming thence. And farther this Informant ſaith, That on the 10*th* day of this Inſtant *Auguſt*, the ſaid *Mac-Namarra* coming to this Informant's Lodgings at the *Golden Poſts* at *Charing-Croſs*, this Informant enquired of *Mac-Namarra* wherefore he went ſo often to Sir *Lioline Jenkins*'s Houſe? Upon which, *Mac-Namarra* put his Hand to his Pocket, and ſhaked his Money, making no other Anſwer.

And this Informant farther ſaith, That afterwards, *viz.* on *Thurſday* the 11*th* of *Auguſt*, he being in the Company of Mr. *Everard*, *Turberfield*, *John Mac-Namarra*, *John Smith*, Mr. *Haynes*, and Captain *Barry*, at the Houſe of the aforeſaid *Roger Godfrey*, at the *Golden Poſts* at *Charing-Croſs*; the ſaid Perſons diſcourſing concerning their going for *Oxford*, about *Colledge*'s Trial, this Informant asking them what they thought of *Colledge*, they generally anſwered, that they queſtioned not but they ſhould get him hanged.

And this Informant farther ſaith, That then and there the Company falling into Diſcourſe of *Slingsby Bethel* Eſq; one of the preſent Sheriffs of the City of *London*, Mr. *Mac-Namarra* and Mr. *Turberfield* profered to lay Wagers, Ten to One, that Sheriff *Bethel* ſhould be hanged before *Chriſtmaſs* next: *But*, ſaid *Turberfield*, *we have little againſt him as yet.* To which *Mac-Namarra* replid, *What of all that? We have time enough either to get, or make more.* The like Wager, at the ſame time, they profered to lay concerning Mr. *Wilmore*, the Fore-Man of the late Grand-Jury, and ſeveral others of that Jury, whoſe Names they then mentioned, but their Names this Informant remembreth not. The like Wager they offered to lay againſt one Mr. *Beſt*,

an

an Hop-Merchant in *Thames-ſtreet*, of whom *Turberfield* ſaid, he had received ſome Guinea's; and that he would go thither again, and ſee if he could get more; and if he would not give him any, he would ſwear that againſt him that ſhould make his Heart ake.

And this Informant farther ſaith, That Captain *Barry* did frequently call Mr. *John Smith* Name-ſake; and this Informant enquiring of Mr. *Mac-Namarra* wherefore *Barry* called *Smith* Name-ſake, he anſwered this Informant, that *Smith* was an *Iriſh-man*, born in *Connaught*, and that his right Name was *Barry*.

And this Informant farther ſaith, That then *Turberfield*, *Haynes* and *Mac-Namarra* ſaid, they would take ſeveral others of the *Iriſh* Evidence along with them to the *Amſterdam*-Coffee-houſe on *Tueſday* come Seven-night next, and there pick a Quarrel among themſelves; and in the heat of their Quarrel they would take Sheriff *Bethel* by his Chain, and lead him from thence to *Bow*-Church: And *Turberfield* asked the Queſtion, whether it would not do well to kick him at parting?

And this Informant farther ſaith, That on the aforeſaid 11*th* of *Auguſt*, *Turberfield* ſaid, they had Bands and Clokes, by which diſtinguiſhing of themſelves, they ſaid, they

could diſcover factious People, they taking them for ſome of their own Mould. And *Turberfield*, ſoon after this Diſcourſe, left the Company, and in about half an hour returned, dreſſed up like a Presbyterian Miniſter.

And this Informant farther ſaith, That on the ſame 11*th* day of *Auguſt*, and Place laſt mentioned, Mr. *Smith*, alias *Barry*, asked Mr. *Mac-Namarra* where he was ſo long in the Morning, that he could not find him? To which Mr. *Mac-Namarra* anſwered, He had been with Sir *Lioline Jenkins*. *I'll warrant you*, replied *Smith*, *you have had a long Leſſon, you ſtay'd ſo long*. *Mac-Namarra* anſwered him, *As long as it was, I have learn'd it*. And then they enter'd into a private Diſcourſe.

This Informant alſo ſaith, That they uſually ſpent high at Dinner, 10 *s*. each Man being their common Ordinary. They alſo commended their Trade to me, and told me, that if I would come to *Oxford*, I ſhould hear how they would ſwinge the Fanaticks: And they ſaid farther, that they would procure me a Place to hear the Trial; and that they were aſſured, that tho the Grand-Jury of *London* ſhould come down to confront them, they ſhould not be admitted.

And

And this Informant farther ſaith, That Mr. *John Smith* then ſaid, that if he had but knowledg of Mr. *Jenks* the Draper, as *Mac-Namarra* had, that he would not fail to ſwear that againſt him, which ſhould not fail to take him from being the Head of a Party of Fanaticks. And that there were ſeveral others who had traduced him, whom, if he knew, he would make Examples.

And this Informant farther ſaith, That Mrs. *Peacock* ſaid, that Mr. *Fitz-Harris* was gone to *Windſor* to diſcover a new Popiſh Plot, ſo that ſhe was not certain whether ſhe had not beſt ſide with her Miſtriſs: And ſpeaking to Mr. *Mac-Namarra*, he anſwered, that Man and Wife, Miſtriſs and Maid, were beſt to be all of a Mind.

Sworn before Sir George Treby, *Recorder of* London, Sept. 1681.

The Information of Captain Henry Wilkinson.

IMprimis, I the said *Henry Wilkinson* do declare, and am ready to swear, That on *Saturday*, *October* the 8*th*, 1681. about Five of the Clock in the Evening, one Mr. *Walter Baines* came to Mr. *Adam*'s Cellar in the *King*'*s-Bench* Prison, and sent for me out of the Garden in the *King*'*s-Bench*; who upon sight told me, he was sorry to see me in that place, and afterwards engaged me to accept of a Pot of Beer or Ale. In the time of its drinking, Mr. *Baines* shewed and expressed the greatest Kindness that could be expected from a Brother; which made me believe he had some Design. Then he desired to know what sort of Wine I would drink? I told him not any; besides, the Cellar had none: but he then called for Brandy, which we had. Then he told me Mr. *Brownrig* was sent Prisoner to *York*-Castle for Treason, and for appearing for my Lord *Shaftsbury*. And also the said *Baines* said, he had sent a Note to my Lord *Shaftsbury*, to demand fifty Shillings, for Service and Charges that was due to him, done for the Lord *Shaftsbury* at my Request, as he pretends;

tends; and that my Lord ſent him word, it was a Sham and a Cheat put upon him, and therefore he would pay him no ſuch Bill.

At the ſame time he told me, I could not but know much of the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Deſigns againſt the King, and that I might do well to diſcover it to him, who was ready to do me any Kindneſs, and deſired an opportunity. Alſo that he had been lately with Mr. *Graham*, and had a great Intereſt with my Lord *Hyde*. (All this time I underſtood what was deſigning for my Kindneſs.) I conſtantly and truly told him, I knew nothing of my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Deſigns againſt His Majeſty: Only this I did know formerly, from Mr. *Baines* about three Months ago; that he was then of an Opinion, that Mr. *Brownrig* could diſcover ſome unlawful Practices againſt the Lord *Shaftsbury*, which, I confeſs, I did wiſh might be diſcovered; for altho I have ſerved his Majeſty in *England*, and beyond Sea (and no other Intereſt) and was as inſtrumental in His Majeſty's Reſtoration as any Perſon of my Fortune could be; ſo I am for his Continuance by all lawful means, and never to ſtudy the Deſtruction of his Friends or Enemies by unjuſt Deſigns. I have cauſe to believe my Lord *Shaftsbury* loves His Majeſty, for he always was pleaſed

to ſhew me Reſpect, for that I had ſerved His Majeſty.

Now Night drew on for Mr. *Baines* to be gone; all the time he ſtay'd was ſpent with a great deal of Zeal upon me on the ſame Subject. He told me I ſhould have a Pardon, and need not to fear it; I would not deny his Proffer. But he farther told me, I ſhould be conſiderably rewarded: Neither did I deny that, but told him, When I was requited for my former Service, I would ſerve His Majeſty in what I could. I ſaw here was a Deſign laid; and altho I had reaſon to take it unkindly to have any thing fixed upon me, or to make me an Inſtrument beyond my Knowledg, yet I was reſolved to humour the Buſineſs. Upon which Mr. *Baines* took his Leave this Night, and told me at parting, he would in a few days ſee me again, but left me with ſuch Promiſes as at preſent I cannot expreſs, not much queſtioning my Knowledg.

Item, That on Tueſday, *October* the 11*th*, 1681, I was ſent for to Mr. *Weaver*'s Houſe near the *King's-Bench*, to Mr. *Booth*; who told me he was glad to ſee me, but ſorry to ſee us both in that Condition; for he was a Priſoner as I was. He told me, he had removed himſelf laſt Night from one of the *Compters*. I required of him how he came to be at a Waiter's Houſe? He told me,

me, it was not denied him, altho I could not be admitted one Night. I underſtood he was engaged in the Deſign; I conſidered he had been a Man of bad Principles, therefore I was reſolved to ſtand upon my Guard. Preſently he told me, he was to tell me, I had an opportunity to be a better Man in my Fortune than ever I was before, and that now I had an opportunity to make my Fortune, and that I might have 500 *l.* *per Annum* ſettled upon me and my Heirs, or 10000 *l.* in Money, which I pleaſed, if I would diſcover what I knew of my Lord *Shatſbury*, and his Deſign in changing the Government to a Commonwealth, and witneſs againſt him. I replied, and told him, No Body would believe I ſhould be made privy to ſuch a Deſign (if ſuch a thing was) being I had ſerved His Majeſty in *England*, and beyond Sea. He anſwered, I was the likelieſt Man to know, for he knew I had ſerved the King, and had been ſlighted and neglected. I told him, that was true. I anſwered him again, I never deſired any thing of His Majeſty for my Service, but that which would coſt him nothing, but only to have the Preference of others, that never had been concerned in His Majeſty's Service, by way of Farm on part of His Majeſty's Revenues. He told me His Majeſty knew me, and that he was ſenſible

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of my Service and Sufferings, and desired to gratify me; for he often told me, Now was the time to do something which would advance me, for it must now be a King or a Common wealth; for the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Party would but only make use of me to slight me when their Business was done. I told him, I was with my Lord *Shaftsbury* the Night before he was apprehended, and that Sir *Thomas Amstrong* was there; a Person I knew out of favour, on purpose that he might speak out his full Mind, but still told him, I knew nothing of any Design. I also told him, I would say nothing, nor appear at Court until I was considered for my Sufferings, (a thing I never expected) and as for going to Court, I never intended it: But the more I told him I knew nothing of a Design, the more he put me in mind of what Reward I might have, in such words, that I ought to swear to it, whether I knew any thing or nothing of the Business. Now I fully saw the Design; and tho I stayed late, at my Return I began to consider who I should make this Business and Design known to, being a Stranger in the *King's-Bench*. I observed one who appeared to me to be a sober and sensible Person; that Night I repaired to him, and (lest I should be tempted with what Offers were made) I told him that I had a design to commit a

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Secret to him; whereupon I told him, and desired him to put the same in Writing; and that if I ever declared more than what I did then to him, (that was) That I knew nothing of any Plot or Design against His Majesty, intended by my Lord *Shaftsbury*: I told him this, and declared in the Presence of God, that if ever I should be tempted to swear more than this at any time, it was for Reward; and that I desired him to witness the Truth of this against me, and that I would daily give him an account of what passed for the future, which I desired him every day to put into Writing, which I believe he hath done; as also the constant Invitations abroad, and the Visits they gave me here, which were so frequent to me, as nothing could be more.

Mr. *Booth* told me I must appear at Court, and I should have an assurance of my Reward from some Persons of Honour: I told him I would not trust any Courtier I knew for a Groat; I am satisfied he was put upon this, but by whom God knows, I am assured not by his Majesty.

That on Wednesday *October* the 12*th*, 1681, I am invited by Mr. *Booth* to dine with him that day at Mr. *Weaver*'s House, which I refused, (altho he sent a Waiter, and promised him Satisfaction for his Attendance.) After Dinner he sent again:

I went, and found Mr. *Baines* with him, both riſing from Dinner; I was moſt kindly received with Wine and good Words, working upon me to come in a Witneſs againſt my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s deſigning to change the Government; declaring I had an opportunity to make my Family and Friends, as they had expreſt formerly: I told them as I had done before, until I was ſatisfied for by-paſt Services, I would not be concern'd any way at Court. They told me, I might be aſſured of what I would deſire from my Lord *Hallifax* and my Lord *Hide*. Mr. *Booth* required what would ſatisfy me? I told him, if they would give me two thouſand Guinea's towards the Injury I had received, and my Friends upon my account, I would diſcover what I knew. Mr. *Booth* told me a greater thing was intended me, for I was to have 500 *l. per Annum*, or 10000 *l.* in Money: But I ſtill told them, I knew nothing of any Deſign by my Lord *Shaftsbury*. The more I declared I knew nothing, the more Mr. *Booth* urged the Reward. I told him (when he was ſo earneſt) when I had that Money and a general Pardon, I would then do any Service I could; but I would not truſt the Promiſes of Courtiers. Mr. *Baines* told me, as to a Pardon, I might have it in two or three days: He deſired to know my Chriſtian Name, which I conceived

ceived was an Intention to get a Pardon, a thing never in my Thoughts, but Mr. *Baines* formerly mentioned it to me; and truly I did not know what I might ſtand in need of, or what they would fix upon me in our Diſcourſe.

Mr. *Baines* told me, he had the Night before been with my Lord *Halifax* and my Lord *Hide*; now they thought they had prevailed with me, and were mighty chearful: Before I parted from them, my Wife coming to me, told me, Mr. *Booth* had been mighty urgent with her to engage me to come in a Witneſs, and then told her, I ſhould have 500 *l. per Annum* ſettled upon me; but what Grounds he had for this I know not; for all Perſons that know her, knew her to be Perſon of unqueſtionable Repute. Nor did I queſtion the performance, for I thought what I could ſay would not deſerve; neither could I tell why they ſhould think me ſuch a Man as they would have me to be; for I ever hated to be a Witneſs or a Jury-man all my time: I conceive Mr. *Booth* thought I might be wrought upon, becauſe I had great Misfortunes, and that this was a ready way to repair me.

October the 13*th*, 1681. This day I had a Waiter ſent me about Eleven a Clock, to deſire me to go to Mr. *Weaver*'s Houſe, which I did, there was Mr. *Booth* and Mr. *Baines*, who

who told me they ſent for me to dine with them: I had no deſire to have any Table-talk with them, I deſired to be excuſed, and alſo promiſed to ſee them after Dinner. Mr. *Baines* told me Mr. *Graham* was not far off, and would be there, and that he was ſent by ſome of the Council to diſcourſe me: Mr. *Baines* told me, on Tueſday Night he was at Court with my Lord *Hallifax*, and Lord *Hyde*, and the two Secretaries of State, and that they enquired who knew me? He replied, Mr. *Graham*, who was ſent for; they ask'd him as to my Reputation? they ask'd him if he knew me, and how long? he ſaid, about twenty Years; they enquired of him concerning me? He told me Mr. *Graham* anſwered, I had ſerved His Majeſty and his Father in *England* and beyond Sea faithfully, and that I was a very honeſt Man, and alſo that I was a great Sufferer, and that I had received great Diſappointments, and had been ill dealt with by ſome that belonged to the Court, as in particular, Mr. *Edward Progers*; and that they engaged Mr. *Graham* to come over to the *King's-Bench*, and to aſſure me, that I ſhould be requited for my Sufferings; alſo to take me over with him to the King, where I ſhould have the Promiſe of His Majeſty for the ſame, and the opportunity to declare my former Grievances, and receive

ceive His Royal Word and Promiſe for my Reward and Sufferings. After this Diſcourſe Mr. *Graham* came in, who told me the ſame things as above, and that I might be aſſured of thoſe things from the King, alſo that he had an Order to carry me to His Majeſty: I told him I could ſay nothing, neither would I go to *White-hall*, for I had taken a Reſolution againſt going to *White-hall*. It was hard preſſed for my going thither: I deſired to be excuſed; for if I could ſay any thing, I muſt be guilty my ſelf; but he told me, whether I was or not, I might be recompenſed for my Sufferings; upon which I took my leave, and went away not well pleaſed, that for my Requital I ſhould be thought an ill Man, or a Traitor.

That on *October* the 14*th*, 1681. Mr. *Booth* came to me about Eleven a Clock to the *King's-Bench*; we walked in the Garden about an Hour. His Buſineſs was to know my Mind, whether I would go voluntarily to the King or not? He alſo told me, That Mr. *Wilſon*, my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Secretary, that was in the *Gatehouſe*, had ſent to the Council to inform them, That if he might have his Pardon, he would come in, and declare his Knowledg; and therefore he would have me to have the Honour to be the firſt Diſcoverer. I told him I had no Buſineſs

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at *White-hall*. Then he told me it was intended that Mr. *Graham* ſhould be at his Lodging this Afternoon, to ſee if I would go to the King, if not my Lord Chief Juſtice's Warrant would be ſent to compel me to appear at his Chamber, where there would be ſome of the Council to examine me, and ſwear me. He alſo told me, That the Duke of *York* had a great Eſtate in *Ireland*, and that he would give me 500 *l. per Annum* there, beſides all former Promiſes, to be ſettled upon me and my Heirs, if I would come in a Witneſs againſt my Lord *Shaftsbury*. I told him they might meet with many Perſons in this Age that would accept of ſuch Offers. I told him, if I had any thing to ſay it was the moſt proper time in Court for me and Witneſſes to ſpeak their Knowledg. I told him I did not know but the Preſence of a King and his Promiſes, might make a Man ſay more than what was true, or than he could ſay fairly in a Court. Mr. *Booth* ask'd me, if I did not ride with my Sword and Piſtols out of Town with my Lord *Shaftsbury* when he went to *Oxford?* I told him I did, I could not do leſs than wait upon him out of Town, who had been ſo kind, with the reſt of the Lords Proprietors, to do me the Honour to make me their Governour for the Country of *Carolina*. He then told me I muſt

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needs be privy to this, That if His Majesty would not pass three Acts, one for excluding the Duke of *York*, the next for making void the Act of Queen *Elizabeth* against Recusants; and the third for uniting Protestant Subjects, then by force of Arms he was to be compelled. He told me all the Council was satisfied I knew this, and as much as any Person, in regard that both my Lord *Shaftsbury* and my self were disgusted at Court. He said the Council knew I was a Souldier, and was satisfied I was to act in that Concern. I begun now to consider what a Fortune was now promis'd, and what a good Addition this 500 *l.* additional from the Duke of *York* would make to the former Promises; and after he was gone I acquainted my Wife, and told her how great a Person she was like to be: But this was no News to her; for Mr. *Booth* had often been desiring her for her own good, to engage me in this honourable Service. Thus these things in our Troubles served us to be merry with, to consider how easily we were like to leap into an Estate: But all this time we were without fear and danger of enjoying it, or any part of it, much less of intailing it upon our Posterity.

October the 15*th*, 1681. This day about Eleven a Clock Mr. *Booth* came again to me

to the *King's-Bench*, to know of me if I yet would go to *White-hall:* I demanded, For what? He told me, To evidence againſt the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; I told him I had nothing to ſay againſt him. He importuned me not to loſe this great Opportunity I now had. Before we parted, Mr. *Baines* came to us, I deſired to know why they ſhould be ſo urgent to have me a Witneſs. He told me there were none but *Iriſh* Witneſſes yet to come againſt my Lord *Shaftsbury*, and they were not Perſons of Credit; but if I would come in, altho I had been unfortunate in my private Concerns, yet I was not blemiſh'd in my Credit. Mr. *Baines* told me if I would not go to *White-hall*, the Marſhal had an *Habeas Corpus* from my Lord Chief Juſtice *Pemberton*, to carry me. So we parted.

About Four a Clock in the Afternoon, the Marſhal came with Mr. *Booth* and Mr. *Baines* to require me to go along with him: I demanded whither: He told me to *White-hall.* I demanded to ſee his Warrant: He ſhewed it me: Now I was forced to obey. After my coming thither, in a little time I was called into Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*'s Office, where he and my Lord *Conway* were; who ſtrictly, but very fairly and honeſtly, examined me about my Lord *Shaftsbury*, and what I knew of any Deſign againſt

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His Majeſty. I told them, as I did to the former Attackers, I knew nothing. Great Arguments were uſed, but I could give no ſatisfactory Anſwer, as was (I conceive) expected. After this His Majeſty came into the Office; when he ſaw me, he was pleaſed to do me the Honour to ſay, he knew me well, and that I had ſerved His Father and His Majeſty faithfully, and He hoped I would not decline my Obedience. To which I anſwered, I never deſerved to be ſuſpected. His Majeſty was pleaſed to tell me, He had not had the opportunity to ſerve his Friends, but hoped he might: He was pleaſed to promiſe to conſider me for my Sufferings. Then His Majeſty began to examine me, (if I had been exhorted by the beſt Divine in *England*, he could not have ſaid more than his Majeſty) in telling me what Kindneſs was intended me, was not with a deſign to invite me to ſpeak a word but Truth it ſelf; and that if he knew I did, or any other Perſon, His Majeſty would never endure them. Then His Majeſty demanded what I knew of a Deſign againſt His Perſon and Government? I truly told His Majeſty, that I knew nothing of any Plot or Deſign againſt His Majeſty or Government; that I admired why I ſhould be ſuſpected, that had ſerved His Majeſty and His Father in *England* and beyond Sea,

and was as inſtrumental as any Perſon in His Majeſty's Reſtoration: But ſome Perſons had poſſeſſed His Majeſty, I was deep in ſome Deſign againſt the Government, and knew much of my Lord *Shaftsbury*: So His Majeſty ſeemed not to be ſatisfied, but ſtill preſſed hard upon me. To all His Majeſty's Queſtions, I could give no Anſwer that would ſatisfy. Then His Majeſty was pleaſed to tell me, If I would ſay, *As I hoped to be ſaved, I knew nothing of any Deſign againſt His Perſon*, he would believe me, which I did ſay in thoſe very words, which His Majeſty ſeemed to wonder at. Then I was left to Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, who was pleaſed to uſe ſuch Arguments as he thought fit. I told him I knew my Duty to His Majeſty, I would not draw a Sword againſt him, but I could freely do it againſt ſome of the Court that were Enemies to His Majeſty and his Friends; and ſo I was diſmiſſed out of the Office. Then I was carried into another Room, where His Majeſty, my Lord Chancellor, Lord *Halliſax*, Lord *Hyde*, the two Secretaries of State were, and the Lord Chief Juſtice *Pemberton*; where I was examined, Mr. *Graham*, Mr. *Booth*, and Mr. *Baines* preſent. My Lord Chancellor was ſharp upon me with ſeveral Queſtions, which I could give no Anſwer to. Content thus I was to run the

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Gantlet from one place to another. My Lord Chancellor would not believe but I muſt be guilty of knowing great things againſt my Lord *Shaftsbury*. I told him if I could not be believed upon my Word there, if they pleaſed to bring my Lord *Shaftsbury* upon his Trial, I would declare it in open Court upon Oath what my Knowledg was, without any hopes of Gain or Advancement. My Lord Chancellor, I thank him, did me that Equity, to tell me, there were two ſorts of Advancement; I need not give my ſelf that trouble, for I was like to come to my Trial my ſelf before my Lord *Shaftsbury*. My Lord Chancellor demanded of me, if I had no Commiſſion for this new Service againſt His Majeſty: I told him No. Then he told me, I was to have a Troop to conſiſt of fifty Men: I told him, that was a ſmall Troop; I hoped that if ever I had a Command of a Troop, it ſhould be a better than that. But I deſired to know who gave that Information: He told me, Mr. *Booth*, who was by, and was liſted under me. I deſired Mr. *Booth* to tell me, if he had given this Information, and made this Oath? He told me, Yes, and it was true. I was unconcerned, and am, knowing my ſelf not guilty: For I proteſt, in the preſence of Almighty God, by whom I expect to be judged, I never had a word with Mr. *Booth*,

or any other Perſon in my whole Life, tending to any ſuch thing. For at the ſame time that he ſaid this was to be, which was when the Parliament was to be laſt at *Oxford*, I had taken, on a Ship for *Carolina*, where I was to go Governour, a Buſineſs more to my Content than any Military Employ, eſpecially againſt His Majeſty and the Government. But I conceved this was in hopes of Reward, and to ſhew his Loyalty; for which, I believe, he will neither be regarded nor rewarded. I told the Council, if they had ſuch another Witneſs they might do my buſineſs. I thank God I am not afraid of him, nor twenty more ſuch Witneſſes, if they come againſt me; for 'tis well known, he hath been accuſed and condemned for Clipping and Coining, beſides Murder, for which he had His Majeſty's gracious Pardon, as I have been informed. I am glad I live in ſuch Days, wherein Juries conceive they are Judges as to Matter of Fact; for if they were not, I am ſatisfied in this Swearing Age, many an Honeſt Man would be forced to march before they know either Rank or File. At the ſame time I told my Lord Chancellor, if any honeſt Man would come and witneſs againſt me, I would never deſire His Majeſty's Pardon, or ever will. Let all the World judg how unlikely it is,

that

that I ſhould be thus concerned, when I had about twenty eight Men-Servants, four or five Women-Servants, beſides my Wife, three Sons (of which two had been in His Majeſty's Service at Sea) and one Daughter, all the Children I have, prepar'd, and lay at my Charge, intending for *Carolina*, and thought my ſelf happy; and was reſolved to leave *England*, with a Reſolution to ſee if I could find a People that had leſs Wit, and more Honeſty, than I have found in my own Country; where, I muſt needs ſay, I have found very unfaithful Dealings amongſt ſuch as account themſelves Perſons of Honour and Quality. But truly, when I thought I had made my ſelf almoſt ready for my intended Voyage, I found my ſelf like a Man bewitched, that could neither budg nor ſtir, until at laſt ſome Debts that I was bound for fell upon me, and others of my own increaſed, being burdened with a great Charge, which unexpectedly put a ſtop at preſent to my intended Voyage. I did always intend to leave *England* honeſtly and honourably: Thoſe things fell ſo unexpectedly, that my ſelf and Wife concluded there was a Divine Hand in it.

The Information of Jarvis James, *Gent.*

I *Jarvis James*, Gent. do declare, That the above-named Captain *Henry Wilkinſon* came to me upon Tueſday the 11*th* of *October*, 1681. in the Evening; and did then, and likewiſe every day, from time to time afterwards, make me acquainted with the ſeveral Treaties and Tranſactions between him the ſaid Captain *Henry Wilkinſon*, and Mr. *Baines*, Mr. *Booth*, and Mr. *Graham*, and the ſeveral other Perſons in this his Information mentioned; and that they were the very ſame in ſubſtance with what he hath herein ſet forth and declared: for at his Requeſt, and for my own Satisfaction, I kept a daily Journal during the time of their treating. All which ſhall be atteſted upon Oath, when required.

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The Information of Mrs. Suſannah Wilkinſon, *Wife of Captain* Henry Wilkinſon.

I The ſaid *Suſannah Wilkinſon* do declare, That on Wedneſday the 12*th* of *October*, 1681, I went to the *King's-Bench* Priſon, to ſpeak with my Husband, (where I met with three Carpenters, which were entertained by him as Servants for *Carolina*, and who had waited a long time, and not finding him likely to proceed in his Voyage, they deſired to be diſcharged); but not finding him in the *King's-Bench*, I went with them to Mr. *Weaver*'s Houſe, where I found him in Company with Mr. *Booth*, and one Mr. *Baines* (who were very largely treating my Husband with Wine.) My Husband went out to perſwade the Servants, and diſcourſed them: Then Mr. *Booth* took an opportunity to ſpeak to me, and told me, my Husband was a moſt obſtinate Man; and Mr. *Booth* deſired me to perſwade my Husband to be guided and perſwaded by him the ſaid Mr. *Booth*. And he ſaid, the King would do more for my Husband than ever the Lord *Shaftsbury* would; and that the King was ſenſible of my Husband's Ser-

vice

vice and Sufferings; and if my Husband would be perſwaded by him, the ſaid Mr. *Booth*, to appear againſt the Lord *Shaftsbury*, he was ſure my Husband would be the moſt happy Man in the World, and that he ſhould have 500 *l.* a Year ſettled upon him and his Heirs for ever.

That on Friday *October* the 14*th*, 1681. I was with my Husband at the *King's-Bench* Priſon, when Mr. *Booth* came into our Room. Mr. *Booth* took an opportunity to ſpeak with me, and deſired me for God's ſake to perſwade my Husband to be ruled by him; which if my Husband would, he might be an happy Man, and the Duke of *York* would ſettle 500 *l.* a Year in *Ireland* upon my Husband and his Heirs; and very much intreated me to perſwade my Huſband to what he deſired. All which ſhall be atteſted upon Oath, when required.

Reflections

Reflections upon the two Affidavits, and Captain Wilkinſon's *Narrative.*

IT appears by the Affidavit of *Thomas Samſon* Gent. that *John Mac-Namarra*, and *Dennis* his Brother, (who promiſed to ſwear whatſoever his Brother would have him ſwear) *Edward Ivy*, *Bryan Haines*, *John Smith* and *Turberfield*, &c. were all in a Confederacy for the corrupt Service of the Court, to ſwear Treaſon right or wrong, againſt all that were obnoxious to *Whitehall*, or ſhould oppoſe them in that Service; and tho confeſſing to their Confidents they knew nothing of a Proteſtant Plot, yet conſulted *Cellier* the Romiſh Midwife, and her Prieſts in *Newgate*, how to ſham the Popiſh Plot, and make one for the Proteſtants; and in purſuance hereof, they took away the innocent Lives of *Stephen Colledge*, and Mr. *Rouſe*, of which they boaſted to ſuch as they thought they might with ſafety do it, that they knew nothing of Treaſon againſt either of them, magnifying from thence the Service done their Maſters, as if Perjury was a Vertue.

The Affidavit of *William Shewen* confirms what is before ſuggeſted; for he being a pregnant young Man, theſe Varlets judging him

him for their purpoſe, duckoyed him into their Company, hoping to make a Proſelyte of him; by which means he came to the knowledg of all their Secrets and Deſigns: but his Parents being of good Subſtance, and ſober Perſons, apprehending the danger of their being raviſhed of their Child, by great Induſtry and ſome Charge, they recovered him out of the hands of theſe profligate Fellows, after he had for ſome time aſſociated with them; and then as a Teſtimony of his Repentance, and Sorrow for his Miſcarriage, he voluntarily and of his own accord, out of hatred to their Practices, made this Diſcovery under his own Hand-writing, drawn up by himſelf without the leaſt prompting thereunto; then preſented it to his Friends, and being called thereunto made Oath of the truth thereof.

How far the Court was concerned in this Contrivance, may be calculated by that part Secretary *Jenkins* appears to have born in it, in his generous gratifying theſe infamous Witneſſes, even to that degree, as enabled them to live at the rate of 10*s.* ordinary; all which is worthy Obſervation, as alſo the providential preſerving Mr. *Bethell* (then Sheriff) from being murdered, of which they had ſo poſitively determined, that they proffered to lay ten to one, they would hang him before *Chriſtmaſs:* for tho they confeſſed

feſſed they had nothing againſt him, yet in that time they ſaid they ſhould either get or make enough. And theſe and the like Witneſſes were not only incouraged by the King's Bounty to them, but alſo by the aſſurance they had of ſuch Juries as would believe any thing they ſhould ſay: for the King not obſerving the Rule the Law directs, in electing Sheriffs for the Counties, out of the three preſented to him, and after prick'd not changing of them, as by a judged Caſe he ought to do, but chuſing them as he pleaſed, the Witneſſes had no reaſon to doubt of Juries for their turn; and ſince the King's beſt Subjects were ſo much concerned as to the ſafety of their Lives in the Choice of Sheriffs, it belongs to their Repreſentatives in Parliament to prevent the like Practice in the future, by aſſerting the Law in this caſe, no other way being effectual: for it cannot be expected, that private Perſons ſhould make themſelves obnoxious to the King, by diſputing his Irregularities; when if our King ſhall hereafter aſſume the Power of chuſing Sheriffs at large, he may have what Juries he pleaſeth to revenge himſelf upon any that ſhall oppoſe his Arbitrary Proceedings.

Captain *Wilkinſon*'s Merits from thoſe then in the Government is as well known, as his Information doth abundantly ſet forth

their

their monſtrous Ingratitude towards him; and that for no other cauſe, than refuſing to depart from his Integrity, to be made inſtrumental by Perjury, in murdering the Innocent, to which he was tempted to that degree, both by Rewards and Threats, as is to be feared few in this Depraved Age would have reſiſted: and for the Proof of this Obſervation, I recommend the Reader to the ſerious peruſal of the ſaid Narrative, and to take notice of the Actors therein; for I know no reaſon why Greatneſs ſhould privilege Immorality, but rather make it the more criminal in ſuch, when guilty thereof. And now with the following Additions to our Litany I conclude.

From cheating and cozening, buying and ſelling Offices, Weakneſs and Wilfulneſs, Treachery and Perjury, Pride, Covetouſneſs and Ambition, *Jacobites* and *de facto* Men, ill Nature and Ingratitude, Drunkards, Swearers, Murderers, Perſecutors, and all their Adherents, *Good Lord deliver us.*

FINIS.

ERRATA.

ERRATA.

PAge 19. line 11. read *ruine*, f. *ruined.*
Pag. 31. l. 2. r. *Naval Stores*, f. *Naval Forces.*
Pag. 35. l. 24. r. 800000, f. 80000.
Pag. 37. l. 3. r. *tempting*, for *attempting.*
Pag. 58. l. 10. r. *an Iriſh Gentleman*, f. *an Iriſh Lord.*
Pag. 60. l. 3. r. *it ought not*, f. *it cannot.*
Pag. 62. l. 23. r. *Hannaw*, f. *Hannover.*
Pag. 72. l. 9. r. *where*, f. *wherein.*
Pag. 76. l. 1. r. *Subornation*, f. *Subordination.*
Pag. 86. l. 25. r. *than*, f. *then.*
Pag. 88. l. 37. r. 7 *or* 8000, f. 4 *or* 5000.
Pag. 95. l. 21. r. *bar*, f. *bare.*
Pag. 113. l. 8. r. *ſuch as Sovereigns are*, f. *ſuch as were.*

All other literal Errors which may be found, the Reader is deſired to amend them in his reading.